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B.

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Non-Brahmin

Movement.

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For the week ending 8th March 1913.

No. 10 of 1913.

VI? MISCELLANEOUS.

29. Referring to the argument that was in evidence before the Public Service Commission that great ~~jxxxxx~~ injustice woul be done to non-Brahmins if Brahmins are allowed to enter the high grades of public service in larger numbers, a correspondent to the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 22nd February, reminds those who have put forward such argument of the story of the two annimals which did not agree over a piece of bread. The jackal intervened and said, "Leave the piece of bread with me until your dispute is settled." So saying, the jackal swallowed it. The paper says:-- We read this story in our youth, but we do not take pains to remember it. It will be well for those who wish the wellbeing of the country to forget all differences.

Brahmins and non-Brahmins.

For the week ending 18th January, 1913.

NO. 3 of 1913.

25. (page 127) The Swadesamitran, of the 10th January, comments, as follows, upon the evidence of Mr. Cardew before the public Service Commission:-- He was against the system of simultaneous examinations, on the ground that it would lead to such an increase in the number of successful Indian candidates that there would be no scope at all for the English candidates to compete, and that it would also result in the Brahmans monopolising the service to the exclusion of all other communities in India.

The proceedings of the Public Service Commission.

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28. The Sasilekha, of the 10th January, has a leader on the subject of the Royal Public Service Commission in which it points out that while examining Diwan Bahadur Audinarayanayya as a witness, Sir Murray Hammick expressed the fear that if simultaneous examinations be held both in England and India, the Brahman candidates will beat the others and the latter can have no chances at all of enjoying a proportionate share of higher appointments. It observes that all classes have equal chances of being educated and that in each class there are men who have attained eminent position by their educational qualifications. Under such circumstances the fear that the non-Brahman classes will suffer by the holding of simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service is, says the paper, groundless.

The Public Service Commission.

For the week ending 18th January 1913.

No. 3 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

5. (Page 112) In commenting on the evidence of Mr.Theagaraya Chetty, the MADRAS STANDARD, of the 17th January, says:- "The evidence of Mr.P.Theagaroya Chetty is quite the opposite of Mr.Natesan's. Mr.Theagaroya Chetti is decidedly against simultaneous examinations and thinks that if that is to be conceded there must be a definite scheme of class representation in which no community is to get more than 40 per cent. of the vacancies. If suitable candidates are not forthcoming from any caste, then the vacancy may be filled up the next year, he says, or failing which it may be given to the member of any other caste. We sincerely regret that such a proposal ~~to the member of any other caste~~ should have been placed before the Commission.

For the week ending the 25th January 1913.

No. 4 of 1913.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

Brahmins and other communities.

12. In publishing an extract from the PIONEER on the behaviour of Brahmins towards non-Brahmins as elicited by Sir Valentine Chirol at the recent sittings of the Public Service Commission in Madras, the HINDU, of the 20th January says:--"It may be observed that Sir Valentine Chirol did not give the name of the specific individuals on the strength of whose statements he based his cross-examination. In questioning Mr.Justice Sundara Aiyar, he mentioned the fact that he had the authority of a distinguished colleague of Mr.Justice Sundara Aiyar for making the statement that the Brahmins fostered distrust and jealousy between the communities. Mr. Justice Sundara Aiyar gave his answer assuming that what Sir Valentine Chirol stated was correct. It must be pointed out, however, that although no less than four of Mr.Justice Sundara Aiyar's colleagues in the High Court were examined as witnesses before the Commission, viz., Sir Arnold White, Sir Ralph Benson, Sir John Wallis and Sir C.Samkaran Nair, the statement that Sir Valentine Chirol referred to as having been made regarding the Brahmins, was not elicited by him from any of these witnesses. Wherefrom, then did Sir Valentine Chirol get his valuable information? As a Member of the Commission it was his duty to have made this point clear. The PIONEER thinks that one non-Brahmin should have been co-opted 'if the principle of equality had been followed', in order to help the Members of the Commission in their bewilderment caused by one witness speaking in favour of a Brahmin and another to the contrary effect. If this had been done it would have forcibly illustrated the observation of Mr.Justice Sundara Aiyar that the action of Government is sometimes calculated to foster communal jealousy and distrust."

For the week ending the 1st February 1913

No. 5 of 1913

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

Chronicle, ...as. 1913.

9. (page 199) Whatever view the Congress may hold, we are convinced that class representation is bound to come, at all events Lord Islington's Commission cannot ignore the subject. In Madras the necessity of recognising the legitimate claims of every important community and class in the service has been admitted and urged upon the Commission not only by Muhammadan, Christian, Non-Brahmin and European witnesses, but by some Brahmin witnesses as well. Whatever evidence to the contrary may be forthcoming elsewhere, what the Madras witnesses laid special stress upon will have to be seriously considered by the Commission. . . . . By class representation is not meant the representation of Hindus, Muhammadans, Christians and Eurasians only. The Hindus are not one community. They consist of a large number of communities, every considerable and important section of which has a perfect right to be represented on the Public Service, of which, perhaps, the best judges are the local Governments. Let us hope that this point will not be lost sight of either by the Commission or by the Secretary of State and the Government of India."

Referring to the evidence of the Hon'ble Mr.A.G.Cardew, before the Public Services Commission, the WEEKLY CHRONICLE, for the week ending 26th January, remarks:--"If Mr.Cardew had gone into the figures regarding the subordinate services, which are recruited under a system more or less or almost wholly of patronage, equally interesting figures might have been forthcoming. But one may naturally enquire why the European administrators, including Mr.Cardew, allowed such class preponderance? What steps Has Mr.Cardew taken, where patronage has been concerned to redress the balance and to do justice to the claims of every important community. . . . Whether calculated on the basis of population or on the basis

of the number of highly educated candidates available in each of the communities there can be no doubt that Mr,Cardew's figures, which seem to us to be rather arbitrary, cannot stand the test of a close scrutiny. If a careful enquiry is made in to certain other branches of the public service where educational qualifications are not rigorously insisted upon, and also into the railway service another set of interesting statistics would be forthcoming illustrating the evils of patronage as exercised not by the Brahmin but in most cases by the Europeans. ~~But there~~ The Brahman's sin is that intellectually he is smart and that he is exclusive. But where there is no intellectual smartness of any kind to speak of can the evils of patronage be tolerated without serious detriment to the efficiency of the administration?

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

Non-Official members of the Legislative Council.

16. In publishing an article by a "Congressman", in which he deals with the suggestion to hold a Congress of all the non-official members of the Indian Legislative Councils, the WEEKLY CHRONICLE, for the week ending the 26th January, says:-"We are afraid that either personal jealousy or the spirit of clannishness or both and lack of public spirit and enterprising energy may stand in the way of the suggestion being carried out. We hear perorations about nationality on the Congress platform and had the same recently from the witness box before the Public Service Commission. We are told that the goddess of competition should be worshipped in the hallowed name of efficiency and are asked to believe that class representation would be the natural parent of all the evils of jobbery, a term which is often made to do duty for the word patronage, as if clannishness due to differences of class had not produced evils far more heinous and numerous than those likely to be engendered by the worst system of nomination. But when the non-official members of a public body like an important municipality or Legislative Council are asked to organise themselves and co-operate with one another

for the promotion of the common good, oftener than not a large number of our patriots think first and foremost of themselves and secondly of the interests of their clan. Can we look for consistent and concerted action among such men?"

For the week ending 28th February 1914

No. 9 of 1914.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

IV. NATIVE STATES.

The memorial of the non-Brahmans of Mysore to the Public Service Commission.

32. Referring to the memorial alleged to have been submitted by some non-Brahmans of Mysore to the Public Service Commission regarding the predominance of the Brahman element in the Mysore Government service, a correspondent to the SADHVI, of the 20th February, remarks:-- That the memorial is nothing but a bundle of lies can be seen from the fact that Government are paying special attention to the education of non-Brahmans and that a good many members of that class have been given high appointments in the State, although better qualified Brahmans were available for the purpose. The argument that because the major portion of the revenue is levied from the non-Brahmans, they should be proportionately represented in the Government service cannot hold water. No such compact has been entered into between the Government and the people anywhere. The taxes are levied for the purpose of affording protection to the people and punishing the evil doers. And these objects can be attained only by entertaining the best available persons to serve under the Government, without heed being paid to caste, creed or birth. It is not at all a wise policy to appoint inefficient men to any posts, simply because they belong to a certain community. (If class representation were to be made a principle, then illiterate PANCHAMAS and scavangers also will have to be provided with high posts. Thus it is evident that the grounds on which the memorial is based are untenable. Further, the memorialists have, by placing their grievances before the Public Service Commission have cast a reflection upon His Highness's administration. The hatred which these non-Brahmans manifest towards the Brahmans cannot do any harm to the latter. So long as the Brahmans excel others in education and ability, they will be respected everywhere. Even under the British Government, some of the highest posts, e.g., Council Memberships, Highcourt Judgeships, etc., are held by them.

For the week ending 8th August 1914.

No. 32 of 1914.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

The Congress.

58. Referring to this year's ~~Congress~~ Congress the MALAYALI, of the 1st August, says the following:--

"THE CONGRESS OF THE YEAR--A BRAHMIN CONGRESS?

"(COMMUNICATED)

"In years past the Indian National Congress used to be described as an organization of lawyers, disappointed office - seekers and others of that kind. But in the good old days the composition of the Congress was not so singularly and prominently sectarian and sectional as it is now. Naturally the majority of Congressmen were Hindus, but with them were associated a number of respectable Muhammadans, Parsees, Indian Christians and a few Europeans. Many of the most prominent non-official gentlemen in the various provinces of India, noted for their public spirit and general educational accomplishments, lent to the Congress the weight of their names and their reputation. The separatist propaganda which found favour with a section of the educated Muhammadans, who believed that their own interests could not be protected and furthered without an organization of their own, working independently of the Congress, took away many of the leading Muhammadans from the Congress camp. Every association of men has tendency too to narrow itself down into factions and cliques; and the faction or clique that is more powerful and active than the rest is bound to influence its course. In the Congress a few gentlemen of great ability and influence gained the upper hand and began to carry things in their own way, disregarding the feelings and wishes of those who happened not to see eye to eye with them. The dissensions thus caused found expression in the Press; and one of the Presidents of the Congress itself, the late Mr. Lal Mohon Ghose, entered a mild but emphatic protest against what he characterised as the autocracy of certain Congressmen. In the meantime the

Nationalists or Extremists, as they were called, made their appearance felt and strove hard to capture the Congress machine. What took place at Surat is now all ancient history. The outstanding features of the Congress since then has been a less active and vigilant agitation in the country. Practically, the Congress has now passed into the hands of a few gentlemen who hold the strings from behind. What with autocracy onthe one hand and disruptive tendencies on the other, the Congress has ceased to be national in the sense in which it was a national organization fifteen years ago. If under the conditions a man had arisen among Congressmen with a capacity for organisation he would have been able to bring the shattered elements back to the central point. But such a man has not yet been found; and, surveying the situation carefully, one cannot say that such a man will soon be found; (The Congress has become merely a sectarian body having no direct or indirect connection whatever with the bulk of the people of India.)

"It cannot be denied that the Brahmin Congressmen who pull the wires and who at present constitute the Congress are short-sighted. It may be that they imagine that if they dominate the Congress, they could lead the rest of the people by the nose. No greater mistake could be committed. It is an obvious truth, becoming more and more obvious every day, that not only the Moslems and other non-Hindu communities but even the non-Brahmin Hindu communities have begun to lost their faith in the Congress. If the attendance at any of the three of four previous Congresses were carefully scrutinized, it would be manifest that the bulk of the gentlemen present were Brahmins. We need not go farther than our own Presidency to illustrate the point. Take the Madras Mahajana Sabha and the Madras Provincial CongressCommittee, These public bodies consist mainly of Brahmins, led of course by a few Brahmin lawyers. The office-bearers are nearly all of them Brahmins; and as each year the election comes round these gentlemen, who form the majority, take particular care to see that their own men are chosen. If Lord Curzon had occasion to reply to another

Mahajana Sabha address he would rub this fact in with redoubled energy and indeed with greater truth than when he as Viceroy gav a crushing reply to a pretentious address by this Sabha composed rather in the style of the leading article and presented to him during his last visit to Madras. The reader may be aware that the Congress is to beheld this year in Madras, and the Reception Committee and the office-bearers have all been elected. The Chairman of the Reception Committee is a Brahmin gentleman and five out of the six Secretaries to this body are also Brahmins--a fact which goes to prove and prove conclusively that the Reception Committee itself is composed mainly of Brahmans and their camp-followers; and yet the Madras Congress of 1914 will also masquerade under the name of the Indian National Congress and make its representations on behalf of the people of India. Why the non-Brahmin communities among whom some of the ablest and best men in the country could be found stand aloof from the Congress is a deep question with which we do not at present propose to deal. But the fact is there and we have to go upon it. Perhaps the concessions made, in recent times, in sympathetic response to the demands of the Congress and the way in which politically the most dominant caste has striven to avail itself of it, almost to the exclusion of the rest, may be a reason for the withdrawal of the non-Brahmin classes from the Congress. And it looks as if the non-Brahmin Hindus, following the striking example of the Moslems, would form their own organizations for the representations of their own interests as against those of any particular caste or class. We may notice in passing that the Muhammadans have lost nothing through their separatist activities. On the other hand it is becoming clearer every day that, because the Moslem League got all that it wanted, its spokesmen are ready now to fraternize with their Hindu fellow-subjects and pursue common objects in concert. It is a quality inherent in human nature that when one's own private interests are satisfied in accordance with the recognized rules of justic and fair dealing, one is ready to co-operate with others in

purusit of common ends. What is true of the individual seems in this case to be equally true of groups of individuals. If each class or community gets its own just claims adequately recognized, between it and other classes and communities there will be no obstacle to joint action. When a distribution of political power having a tendency to lead to certain definite results is imminent, in a country like India, with its congeries of creeds, communities and classes, it seems to be fairly certain that each social and mutually cohering whole will strive for its own salvation without reference to the rest. The Congress politics for the moment ought to drive this truth home to all.

"Tolerance is a principal condition of joint political action. Caprice, fretfulness or self-centred ambition cannot give a proper direction to social energy; and, for political achievements, social energy must be an operative force. If then, the Congress organization is worked on a sectarian basis, in the hope of securing sectional advantages, whatever may be its demands and however moderate, constitutional and practical they are, those in whom the power is vested to listen to them sympathetically will be justified under the circumstances in assuming an attitude of indifference. No one can say what the future of the Congress is to be. Its methods now are undoubtedly too antiquated, and its organization radically defective. It represents none but those who actively and systematically manipulate its wires. Of its existence the nation in the cottage knows nothing, and, as the greatest political philosopher England produced in the last century has said, so long as your constitution, whatever it is, does not shine in the hamlet and is not appreciated by those who live there, the results would be absolutely unsatisfactory. To constitutional agitation, legally, loyally and peacefully carried on, of course in the interests and with the active support of the people at large, the British Government will always lend a sympathetic ear; but the exhibition of selfish ambition will

be dealt with as it deserves. It is an unfortunate fact that in this country, far from from the differences between castes gradually disappearing, they are becoming unhappily every day more acute. Often these differences are more bitter and irreconcilable than those that exist between two separate communities, say, like the Hindus and the Muhammadans; and it is a fact too that this mutual distrust and suspicion found unambiguous expression in the evidence given before the Public Service commission. He who, therefore, by means of his transcendent capacity and vast influence, and more than either, by his unquestioned disinterestedness and strict and unbending impartiality, strives successfully toharmonize the jarring interests and the discordant elements of which the Indian body politic is composed, will prove himself to be a far greater benefactor to the country than all the Congress orators put together. What India now wants are men of firmer mettle, larger outlook and transparent purity of heart. If such men begin to work at once the day of blessed consummation will arrive at least fifty years hence. For the present, however, every enlightened man has to toil in his own chosen field, with steadfast aim and integrity of heart, expecting no reward and regardless of consequences. Let us hope that in each community, caste and class and creed will be found many such men to work out its destiny ~~so may do its own~~ under the new dispensation and in the spirit of the new time. The Congress too may do its own work, but if it labours, in its present spirit, for sectarian and personal advantages though nominally for the whole of India, it may as we plough the sands of the sea-shore. What we have to lay stress upon and draw attention to, is that every man who has something of the light of Providence in him should betimes profit by the present condition of the Congress movement.

For the week ending 28th November 1914

No. 48 of 1914

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

The hatred against Brahmans.

88. In an article under this heading a correspondent of the SAMPADABHYUDAYA, of the 21st November, writes:--Our late Commander-in-Chief, Sir O'Moore Creagh, has written an article in which he remarks that the Brahmans of Central India are a good natured race while those of the Deccan are fond of intrigue. Now, an opinion cannot be regarded as unquestionable merely because it proceeds from a man of high position. It can scarcely be fair to indulge in such sweeping generalisations as the above, for, every community has its good folk as well as bad. The mere fact that the late Commander-in-Chief was pleased to observe that the Southern Brahmans are fond of intrigue does not warrant our accepting the statement without question. Wherever the Government and its officers are guilty of high-handedness, wherever truthful men are harassed by Government there intrigue and dishonesty make their appearance. The intriguers are in no way to blame for it. The fault lies unquestionably with the harassers of the righteous. If Brahman-haters revel in their power and fail to accord to them the treatment which their education, truthfulness, refinement and patriotism deserve and at the same time offer to non-Brahmans extraordinary patronage even where these qualities are absent, which Brahman can refrain from intrigue. Which Brahman can bear to see such injustice? If there is any Brahman who would put up with such deliberately iniquitous treatment, would patiently offer the left cheeck to the man who gives a blow on the right, or would continue to do good to the man who abuses his power and does harm, then such a one should be deported by the others of his community. Men seized with such a feeling of resignedness deserve to be ascetics and are therefore incompetent to associate with everyday life and help the establishment of justice. Such men are fit only to upset the

order of the world. Every cause has its deffect. Evil actions can never fail of their evil effects. If those in power are blinded by passion and harass the weak, then the strong will assuredly come forward to oppose them. Those who cannot use force will naturally resort to intrigue. Even Emperors and sages do the same. All our sacred lore proves this abundantly. In matters of caste and religion there are not a few who are profoundly ingorant. Themere fact that xxxx one conforms to the outward form of a Brahman does not make him a Brahman. Only those who promote the cause of righteousness in thought, word and deed, by precept as well as example, can be called Brahmans. No man can be said to belong to a community unless he observes the social code belonging to that community. If any one should hate a caste or religion overlooking this underlying principle, he can only be said to betray his own ixg ignorance.

For the week ending 2nd January 1915

No. 1 of 1915

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

Caste prejudice.

126. The NAGAI NEELALOCHANI, of the 7th December, is sorry that the Government always prefers non-Brahmans for all appointments in the Police Department, and that it even publishes notices inviting applications only from Muhammadans and non-Brahmans and stating that the others need not apply.

For the week ending the 20th February 1915

No. 8 of 1915.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General

Anti-Brahman feelings.

67. Referring to the lecture given the other day in the ANDERSON HALL under the Presidency of Sir C.Sankaran Nayar on "Brahmans and non-Brahmans" and to the difference alleged to exist between the several newspaper accounts to the President's remarks, the SAMPADABHYUDA, of the 19th February, writes:--The president said that there could be no objection to a community--whether of Brahmans or of non-Brahmans--exercising the rights and privileges which have belonged to it from time immemorial. This is but natural. The Brahmans have for ages been teachers of morals. The rulers of the country met all their wants. So long as the State maintained them, they devoted their attention exclusively to the study of ancient works and sought to increase their efficiency in the work that was required of them. They expounded the principles of morality and thus gave the benefit of their studies to all around them and depended for their subsistence on the bounty of the State. Among the Brahmans themselves others there were who refused to depend upon anybody for their living and went to the forests and lived as hermits with only roots and berries for their food. But many of the rulers of the present day hate the Brahmans and the forest rules are too stringent to enable these ascetics to live on what they can get in the forests. What are the Brahmans to do under the circumstances? What avocation are they to pursue if they are not to follow the professions assigned to non-Brahmans, as Sir Sankaran Nayar bids them. Are they to fordo themselves? Let Sir Sankaran Nayar himself answer the question. In by-gone days the Brahmans were preachers and were maintained by the State. If at the present day their precepts are nowhere in request and they are not to follow any

profession but their own, why should they not all be xaxd xx sent to the gallows? Why should anybody show an anti-Brahman feeling which would slowly exterminate the race? We have no doubt that Sir Sankaran Nayar and other Brahman-haters of his type will ponder over this subject. It behoves all Brahman-haters to bestow some thought on the matter.

For the week ending 10th April 1915.

No. 15 of 1915

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

Racial prejudices in the Public Service in South Canara.

4. In publishing the third article, extracts below, the NEW INDIA of the 7th April, remarks:--"Our representative in South Canara today points out a serious mistake said to have been committed in recent years by the District Magistrates of that district in making appointments to or promotions in the subordinate services. - - - - The Government of Madras will do well to look into, the matter, specially since, by the very nature of the popular complaint the cause of dissatisfaction can be easily verified."

EXTRACTS FROM THE ARTICLE REFERRED TO ABOVE.

"In the following article, I propose to deal with two quite different topics, the consideration of which is of utmost value, since as we shall presently see, unless the Government takes note of them, the task of controlling the situation created by the war will be far more difficult.

"As is well-known, certain enthusiastic civilians have been carried away in recent years by an ardent desire to follow to the very letter the policy of racial representation sanctioned by the Government of India by the grant of special electorates to the Muslims. The District officers have, with the best of intentions, tried to effect the same 'reform' in their charges and the results have been most grotesque and unfortunate. The civilian is generally a tactless officer who is prone to commit mistakes the moment he departs from the traditional policy of his predecessors. He is the most conservative officer any country has produced and it is no easy task to influence him from the ordinary course of policy. When, however, he departs from it, the result is generally clumsy and that has been the case at least where he has tried to see that all races and castes are properly represented in the Public Service. Usually he begins

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the wrong way, having no patience to wait sufficiently long. . . . . . He is anxious that the backward races must be more largely represented and therefore the change must be effected as speedily as possible. That is how he sets to work, and in delicate matters this otherwise excellent attribute usually misleads the doer.

"Nowhere has this mistake been so glaring as in South Canara. Thanks to the prominent position they otherwise occupy in the district and also thanks to their having taken early advantage of western education, the Gowd Sarasvats and the Sarasvats held almost a monopoly in the Public Service and this anomaly--it is only natural and unavoidable---has attracted the attention of a good many District officers who had thought it most undesirable. . . . . Unfortunately, the Collectors during the last decade took a more serious view of the monopoly and decided on active steps to do away with it. In the interests of the sufferers themselves, I do not think it advisable to name the special mistakes committed by reason of this righteous zeal. I shall ⊕ find out, as they easily can, how far they have been translated into action. A number of non-Matriculates have been appointed for permanent places when qualified candidates who had put in a long period of acting service were available; this mistake was more observable a few years ago. Secondly, in making promotions, claims of seniority have been overlooked in a very large number of cases. Qualified persons are still in the lowest grades, while raw recruits have been posted over them. Thirdly, the Brahmans and specially the Konkani Brahmans have been the most noted sufferers. . . . . My ~~situat~~ aim is only to point out the connection of this mistaken racial zeal with the situation caused by the war in the district. The whole Brahmana community has been dissatisfied and a good many thoughtful people sincerely believe that the Government have sacrificed their interests. There was just a ray of hope when the present District officer went on a brief period of leave. Some of the superseded officers had their grievances redressed. But the relief was painfully brief and the discontent

⊕ only confine myself to a few general remarks leaving it to the Government to - - -

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is again increasing. . . . . I have no desire to exaggerate the main features of the situation, but I must point out that holding as they do a most decidedly prominent position in the district, it is a tactical blunder to estrange the feelings of the Konkani Brahmans. And lastly, this is not the time to rouse their resentment.

"THE POLICE.

"The main complaint of the people regarding the Police department was voiced by an interpellation in the Madras Legislative Council in an early session. A number of officers have been imported to the higher ranks from outside the district and this has seriously deteriorated the efficiency of the department. The officers belonging to the district have naturally grown restive and the discontent has spread to the lower rungs where strict and intelligent discipline is always essential for proper working. The imported officers, unacquainted with conditions in the district, which by the way forms a more integral part of Konkan than of the Madras Presidency, have found it a difficult task to put the police force to the best use and in view of the increased crime as the result of economic conditions, matters have lately gone from bad to worse. In fact, no other result can be expected from the Police department as it is at present constituted in the country. It is, under ordinary conditions, no easy task to extract proper work for the subordinate force and naturally the banishment of the local officers, acquainted with local conditions, is a step in the wrong direction. This incident is specially unfortunate at the present moment, when insecurity is growing and will grow even more in near future unless remedial measures are at once applied."

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For the week ending 10th April 1915

No. 15 of 1915.

~~VERNACULAR PAPERS~~

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General

Popular feeling in South Canara.

5. The following are extracts, from the last of this series of articles, published in the NEW INDIA of the 9th April:--"A careful study of popular feeling is essential for the correct understanding of the latter, for if the district possesses a strong public opinion or dominating popular leaders, the trouble which economic conditions may create can he easily controlled with their aid; but unhappily, that cannot be said of South Canara. The most important community is split up into different camps, and racial strife, fanned though unconsciously to some extent by the policy followed by the District Executive, is very keen, especially in the metropolis. . . . In matters concerning all castes and races, one of the peculiar features of South Canara has been the union of all the others against the Christians. This strife has grown more keen, and it is found in its greatest intensity in the affairs of the Mangalore Municipality where, though numerically inferior in the total population, they have secured a majority against all other castes and races. . . . The excitement is also reaching outside Mangalore and there is little likelihood of a cessation in the near future. . . . . . Needless to say, the popular feeling, taken in all its aspects, seems to be proceeding on right lines. There is a spirit of restlessness against the established order of things, which is more and more realised to be defective. . . . . . To sum up, the district is just now in the throes of a momentous social revolution, mainly directed against the shackles and apostles of caste. While the movement is thus encouraging, it is just now spending itself fully for its own invigoration. . . . . The ~~inquiry~~ moral is quite clear. The Government will not be well advised in postponing inquiry into the state of affairs. They should carefully examine all its main features and decide as soon as possible regarding the remedial measures."

For the week ending the 31st July 1915

No. 31 of 1915

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

Brahmans and non-Brahmans.

41. The SASILEKHA, of the 20th July, says:--It has become the practice nowadays for advertising officers to state that no Brahmans need apply, when they call for applications for Government posts. We fear that this unwise policy of the Government may result in the discouragement and the educational degeneration of the Brahmans.

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THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT.

MADRAS NEWSPAPER REPORTS. July to December 1916.

For the Week ending the 29th July 1916.

Brahmans v. Non-Brahmans in the Mysore State.

34. In a leader on this subject, UNITED INDIA AND NATIVE STATES, for the week ending 27th July, says:--"The recent budget debate in the Mysore Legislative Council was rendered very lively by a speech made by Mr.H.Narasinga Rao championing the interests of the Brahmans for official preferment as against the non-Brahmans whom the Mysore Darbar are said to be unduly favouring at the expense of the Brahmans. . . . Mr. Narasinga Rao admits that the percentage of Brahmans to the non-Brahman population of the village is 1 to 30 and that at present all the schools and colleges in the State are flooded with this small community to the exclusion of the more backward classes, and the Darbar tries to remove this inequality which has resulted in the virtual exclusion of the more numerical sections of the population. . . . . We are no opponents of progress among Brahmans but we hold strongly that the education of the backward classes should receive at least equal encouragement and until such time as the latter are able to stand on their own legs they must be afforded special encouragement in the shape of scholarships so that they may not lag behind hopelessly or be handicapped in the struggle for existence. . . We have, of course, no quarrel with Mr.Narasinga Rao when he idealises the Brahmans, who he says, are by birth and tradition, by habits and surroundings, fit for intellectual studies and intellectual occupations although we must confess our inability to perceive in South Indian Brahmans (for whom alone Mr.Narasinga Rao was apparently speaking) intellectual and literary prodigies like Carlyle or Macaulay or DeQuincey or Thackeray. True they are successful in passing examinations-- a faculty which Mr.Narasinga Rao seems to have mistaken for signs of intellectual pre.eminence.. . . . We sincerely regret the tone of unfairness and antagonism to the backward classes underlying the last statement as it is calculated to stir up ill-

feeling between Brahmans and non-Brahmans which Mr.Narasinga Rao professed to be willing to avoid. His intervention in the debate was unfortunate in every respect although his remarks concerning the fitness of non-Brahmans for less intellectual pursuits was characterised by a spirit of brutal frankness."

For the week ending the 25th November 1916.

35. UNITED INDIA AND NATIVE STATES, for the week ending 23rd November, states:--

Brahmans and Sudras.

"The following 'gem' has been called from the ABHINASARASWATI of Guntur:--

"'A Sudra is born with all vices such as lying which wears out by serving the Brahmans. Such being the case how can a Sudra xxx who altogether hates the Brahmans fail to be a liar simply because he pays a large amount of land tax?'

"We have no hesitation in saying that this is about the most outrageous libel on the Sudras who are falsely asserted to hate Brahmans. It is an equally xxxxx atrocious calumny to say, as does this Guntur print, that Sudras from their very nature cannot fail to be liars. The insinuation and inuendoes contained in the extract are certainly sickening, for to utter such wholly gratuitous libels against whole communities, be they Brahmans or non-Brahmans, is not to render true service to the country. There are honourable persons among Brahmans as among non-Brahmans while it goes without saying, there are liars among both the communities. The execrable taste underlying the extract deserves the severest condemnation and we are very glad to admit that such wholesale detractors of entire communities without sufficient justification are very few among the educated Indians."

For the week ending the 2nd December 1916.

31. The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 28th November, observes:

Brahmans and non-Brahmans.

"A writer in the MADRAS MAIL repeats the protest we made the other day against the practical ~~was made the~~ exclusion of non-Brahmans from the All-India Congress Committee. On going through the list of names published by the Provincial Committee we find the names of Mr.Patro of Berhampur, who, we now learn, is a non-Brahmin. Even then, our protest holds good, for the numerical strength of the Brahmins in this Presidency does not warrant the filling up of ninety-eight percent of the seats in the committee allotted to Madras with Brahmins. Naturally the Brahmin supremacy has created a good deal of adverse comment and, as the writer in the MADRAS MAIL very rightly says the action of the Madras committee only confirms the feeling that Home Rule will but degenerate into Brahmin rule. . . . . . . In Madras itself is Diwan Bahadur Karunakara Menon, while in the mofussal there is Mr.Kesava Pillai and a whole regiment of non-Brahmins who are not in any way inferior either to the Triplicane clique or Mylapore cabal. The indignation and regret become the keener when we find the names of certain Brahmin gentlemen, mere non-entities, included in the list as against their betters like Pillai and Menon. . . . We had noticed this Brahmin supremacy last year as well, and we thought that the adverse criticism it excited would rectify the mistake the lead the Brahmin boss-alls and bang-alls of the Mahajana Sabha and the Congress Committee into taking up a more generous attitude towards the non-Brahmins. . . . . People who cry for Home Rule and representative institutions--and the Brahmins are the loudest--must themselves cultivate a little respect for the feelings of others and practise those ~~xxx~~ virtues they expect in the Government. If this aggression goes on, and the spirit of toleration and compromise does not dominate the political atmosphere, we shall not be surprised if we see in the near future a sharp division in the political camp, as between

Brahmins and non-Brahmins. The feeling of irritation now created must be removed, and this is possibly only if the Brahmin 'leaders' who pull the string led in non-Brahmins into the campt at least for the sake of common decency."

For the week ending the 17th December 1916.

15. The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 7th December, writes:-

The Madras Provincial Conxxxxxx gress Committee and Non-Brahmans.

"We are glad that our recent remarks on the Brahman preponderance and aggression in the provincial congress committee have been widely quoted in the non-Brahman press. It is time we smashed this aggression and asserted our rights. We know there are several Brahman leaders in Madras above party feelings, but they have been pushed on to the back ground by a few busy bodies. These people should be sent about their business, and if they are not prepared to give sufficient representation to non-Brahmans, we would suggestx that the latter should not contribute a pie to the funds of the Provincial Committee and the Mahajana Sabha.

"We hope that dominated by the Brahman clique these two bodies will not make fools of themselves by passing resolutions against the MADRAS MAIL for its attitude towards Mrs.Besant and Mr.Tilak. They may pass any number of resolutions, but how are they going to give effect to them? Surely, the MADRAS MAIL will not put down shutters, pull down the sign board and break up the establishment to please a handful of patriots. We condemn the MADRAS MAIL'S violent writings, but a newspaper has every right to ventilate its own views and we can only appeal to its good sense. . . . XxMxXxyxx Salem Vijayaraghava Achariya, C,Karunakara Menon, Kesava Pillai, T,M.Nayar and others of the old schools have been thrown over board, because they have refused to beat the big drums of Home Rule, to cry for the moon, and to ponder to the vanity of a few younger men obsessed with the idea that the old men are fools and they alone infallible. There was a time when the Presidency was glad to follow their lead, but it is

now the idealist who bosses the show, the mere nobodies of yesterday who, outside their immediate surroundings exercise the least influence and carry no weight whatever."]

For the week ending the 23rd December 1916.

The South Indian People's Association.

22. The HINDU, of the 20th December, writes:--"We print elsewhere a communication relating to the inception of a non-Brahmin movement, the reasons, objects and scope of which are set out in the prospectus which appears over the signature of Rao Bahadur P.Theagoraya Chetti. It is with much pain and surprise that we have perused this document. It gives a manifestly distorted and unfair representation of many of the matters to which it makes reference. It can serve no good purpose, but it is bound to create bad blood between persons belonging to the same great Indian community, who have been living hitherto in perfect harmony, and to whom good sense should suggest that there is nothing more suicidal at this moment and perilous to the national cause, than to create causes for mutual discord, and to play into the hands of the enemies of the national progress. We do not wish to open our correspondence columns to a discussion of this subject, as it cannot but lead to an acrimonious controversy and as it would indirectly promote the insidious objects of some of those who are engineering the movement."

For the week ending the 30th December 1916.

The Brahman-Non-Brahman split.

10. Under this head the HINDU NESAN, of the 21st December, has a leading article in the course of which it observes:--

A manifesto has been issued by Rao Bahadur P.Theogaraya Chettiyar containing an advice to the Non-Brahman sections of the people of this presidency that they should ~~be started at this juncture~~ endeavour to improve their condition. We see no reason why such a movement should be started at this juncture when the Hindus and

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the Muhammadans have united together to ask for self-government for India, and the Government has begun to respect their wishes and to recognise that it is bound to fulfil them. We wish to lay stress on the fact that this agitation is not conducive to the welfare of the country.

From the "HINDU" dated 20th December 1916

EDITORIAL:

"We print elsewhere a communication relating to the inception of a non-Brahman movement, the reasons, objects and scope of which are set out in the prospectus which appears over the signature of Rao Bahadur P.Theagoraya Chetty. It is with much pain and surprise that we have perused this documents It gives a manifestly distorted and unfair representation of many of the matters x to which it makes reference. It can serve no good purpose, but it is bound to create bad blood between persons belonging to the same great Indian Community, who have been living hitherto in perfect harmony, and to whom good sense should suggest that there is nothing more xxxi suididal at this moment and perilous to the national cause, than to create causes for mutual discord and to play into the hands of the enemies of the national progress. We do not wish to open our correspondence columns to a discussion of this subject as it cannot but lead to an acrimonious controversy and as it would indirectly promote the insidious objects of some of those who are engineering the movement."

[From the "HINDU" dated 20th December 1916

SOUTH INDIAN PEOPLES' ASSOCIATION

A NEW ORGANISATION]

The Associated Press has furnished us with the following:-- We have received the following details regarding the non-Brahmin movement in progress in this presidency. At a conference held in Madras on 20th November and attended by several non-Brahmin gentlemen of position and influence both in Madras and in the mofussil, it was resolved that measures be taken to start a company for publishing a newspaper advocating the cause of the non-Brahmin community and also that a political association be formed to advance, safeguard and protect the interests of the same community. In accordance with this a joint-stock company has been started under the name of "South Indian Peoples' Association" for conducting a daily newspaper in English, Tamil and Telugu respectively and also a political association has been formed under the name of the "South Indian Liberal Federation". The South Indian Peoples' Association has issued the following manifesto addressed to non-Brahmins gentlemen throughout the Presidency under the signature of its Secretary, Rao Bahadur P. Theagoraya Chettiyar.

THE MANIFESTO

The time has come when an attempt should be made to define the attitude of the several important non-Brahmins Indian communities in this presidency towards what is called "The Indian Home Rule Movement" and also to indicate certain facts with respect to their present political position. Not less than 40 out of 41½ millions, who form the population of this Presidency, are non-Brahmins and the bulk of the tax-payers, including a large majority of the zamindars, landholders and agriculturists, also belong to the same class. But in what passes for politics in Madras they have not taken the part to which they are entitled. They have made little or no use of their influence among the masses for the general political advancement of the country. In these days of organised effort, they maintain no proper organisa-

tions for protecting and promoting their common interests and for preventing professional and other politicians, with hardly any corresponding in the country from posing as their accredited spokesmen. Nor have they a Press of their own to speak the truth on their behalf. Their political interests, therefore, (as compared with those of the Brahmins, who number only about a million and a half) have materially suffered.

The Honourable Sir Alexander (then Mr.) Cardew, now a Member of the Madras Executive Council, in his evidence before the Public Service Commission in 1913 described in detail the relative positions of the Brahmins and non-Brahmins in the Public Service of their Province, not certainly as a champion of non-Brahmin interests, but with a view to show that if simultaneous examinations in England and India for admission into the Indian Civil Service were introduced the Brahmins, whom he characterised as "a small rigidly exclusive caste" would swamp that service. He is reported to have stated that in the competitive examinations for the Provincial Civil Service which were held between 1892 and 1904 out of sixteen successfull candidates fifteen were Brahmins giving a ratio of 94 per cent of Brahmin success. In the Mysore State where open competitive examinations for the Mysore Civil Services were held during the preceding 20 years, Brahmins secured 85 per cent of the vacancies. In the competition for the appointment of Assistant Engineers in Madras the number of successful candidates, during the same period was 17 Brahmins and 4 non-Brahmins. Similar results were produced by the competitive examinations for the Accounts departments. Out of 140 Deputy Collectors in Madras at the time 77 were Brahmins, 30 non-Brahmin Hindus and the rest Muhammadans, Indian Christians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians. It is curious to note that even where competitive examinations did not exist, as for instance in the Subordinate Judicial Service of the Presidency the major portion of the appointments was in the hands of the Brahmins. Sir Alexander Cardew stated that out of 128 permanent District Munsifs in 1913, 93 were

were Brahmins, 25 non-Brahmin Hindus and the rest Muhammadans, Indian Christians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians. From these and figures of a like nature he naturally concluded that an open competition for the civil service in India would mean an almost complete monopoly of the Service by the Brahmin caste and the practical exclusion from it of the non-Brahmin classes. Of course he did not invite the attention of the Public Service Commission to what prevailed in the important Native States, directly under the control of the Madras Government, where too the prepondenance of Brahmins in Government Service then, as now, was not less marked. Nor did he go into the figures relating to the Subordinate services which are recruited under a system almost wholly ~~of petronea~~ patronage. Surely in these Services the preponderance of Brahmins would be still more striking!!

With regard to what obtains at the present moment in various branches of Government service, it is needless to go into the figures. But we cannot help calling attention to the higher appointments open to the Indian in this Presidency and the principle upon which they are distributed. Since the Executive Council of His Excellency the Governor has been opened to Indians, three Indian gentlemen ~~up~~ have been admitted into it in suceession the two latter being Brahmin lawyers. Of the five Indian Judges of the High Court four of them i.e. all the Hindu Judges are Brahmins. In 1914 a new secretaryship in Government was created and a Brahmin official was forthwith appointed to it. The Indian Secretary to the Board of Revenue is a Brahmin, and of the two Collectorships open to the members of the Provincial Civil Service that which has fallen to the snare of the communities other than the Muhammadans has nearly always gone to a Brahmin official.

What is true of Government service is equally true of local and other public bodies. Where an electorate is composed of a large number of Brahmins the non-Brahmin Indian has hardly a chance.. It nearly happens that while the non-Brahmins do not concentrate upon a single candidate, Brahmin or non-Brahmin,

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the Brahmins nearly always uhite and support their xxq caste-men. The Madras University of which the majority of Indian fellows, classified under the several Indian groups, are Brahmin Indian to the local Legislative Councils so much so that no non-Brahmin Indian however well qualified otherxixwise indulges in the hope gx of getting elected as Member for the University in the Legislative Council unless it is with the support of the European fellows. At a meeting of the Madras Legislative Council held in November 1914 in reply to an interpellation by the late Mr.Kunhi Raman Nayanar, it was stated that the total number of registered graduates of the University was 650 of whom 452 were Brahmins, 124 non-Brahmin Hindus and 75 belonged to other communities and that since 1907, when election of fellows by registered graduates began, 12 fellows were elected of whom with one exception all were Brahmins. We are not aware that neither before 1907 whenx a sort of election of a few Fellows by Graduates of a certain number of years' standing was allowed, nor since 1914 when the statement referred to was made in the Legislative Council the graduates of the Madras University of whom the majority have always been Brahmins elected a non-Brahmin as a fellow of the University so that the non-Brahmin however distinguished has little or no chance of getting into the Senate of the Madras University through what is called the open door of election. In the election to the Imperial and local Legislative Councils and to municipal Bodies, one finds the same truth illustrated, so far as these elections could be controlled by the "rigidly exclusive Caste". If occasionally a fair-minded ruler endeavours to correct the inequality arising from the preponderance of Brahmins on any public body by having recourse to comparativelyx unrepresented interests, he is severely criticised in the Brahmin Press. How His Excellency Lord Pentland was dealt with by some of the papers x in connectio with the recent nominations to his Legislative Council might be cited as the latest example of this kind of hostile and unfair criticism. Outside these responsible bodies more or less

under the control of the Government, even in the case of existing political organisations in the city of Madras as well as in the Districts the figures regarding elections, if gone into, will tell the same tale . To quote one of the latest instances, of the 15 gentlemen elected from this Presidency to represent it on the All India Congress Committee with the exception of one solitary Non-Brahmin Indian all are practically Brahmins and yet the decision of this Committee, which is the executive of the Congress, upon matters of grave import such as the revision of the Indian Constitution after the War, will be held up to the world's admiring Gaze as the considered opinions among others of the 40 millions of non-Brahmins of this large and important Province. It is our unfortunate experience also that as concessions and rights are more freely bestowed the rigidly exclusive caste grows still more rigid and exclusive.

In defence of all this practical monopoly of political power and high Government appointments which make for that power, it is pointed out that though the Brahmins are only a small fraction of the population of this Presidency, they are far ahead of other communities in regard to University Qualification. No one denies this, Old established traditions, the position of the Brahmins as the highest and most sacred of the Hindu castes, the nature of their ancient calling and the steady inculcation of the belief, both by written texts and oral teachings, that they are so many divinely ordained intermediaries without whose active intervention and blessing the soul cannot obtain salvation and their consequent freedom from manual toil---all these helped them to adapt themselves easily to the new conditions under British Rule, as under previous epochs, in larger numbers and far more successfully then the other castes and communities . Apart, however, from the question of English education, are large material stakes, traditional and inherited interests in the soil and the ancient prestige that goes with it, influence among the masses, quiet and peaceful occupations that tend to the steady economic development of the Province, and overwhelming numerical

strength itself to count for nothing? Should not the classes and communities that, from time immemorial, have ~~stored-for~~ stood for these, receive encouragement from the Government? In the matter of education itself the advantage is not all on the side of the Brahmin castes. Though rather late in the field, the non-Brahmin communities have begun to move. They now represent various stages of progress. Some of them such as the chetty, the Komati, the Mudaliar, the Naidu and the Nayar have been making rapid progress; and even the least advanced, like those who are ahead of them, are manfully exerting themselves to come up to the standards of the new times. The spirit of educational progress is abroad, and it is significant circumstances that among some of the non-Brahmin communities the development is more harmonious and less one-sided than among the Brahmins. In spite of the singular solicitude which for reasons not apparent, the Department of Education has been showing for the education of Brahmin girls and especially of Brahmin widows as if the Brahmins were a backward class, the percentage of literates among the women of such non-Brahmin communities as the Nayars is higher than among the Brahmins. In a variety of ways and in different walks of life non-Brahmins will now be found unostentatiously and yet effectively contributing to the moral and material progress of this Presidency. But they and their brethren have so far been groping helpless in the background, because of the subtle and manifold ways in which political power and official influence are often exercised by the Brahmin caste.

We do not deny that in these days of fierce intellectual competition the skill to pass examinations is a valuable personal possession. But it passes our understanding why a small class, which shows a larger percentage of English-knowing men than their neighbours, should be allowed almost to absorb all the government appointments great and small, high or low, to the exclusion of the latter among whom may also be found, though in small proportions, men of capacity, enlightenment and culture. The fact cannot be gainsaid that, in spite of the numerous obstacles in their path,

as executive and judicial officers, as educationists, lawyers, medicalmen, engineers, publicmen and as successful administrators of large estates, the non-Brahmin communities have produced men of distinguished attainments xnqx and unquestioned eminence, some of whom have found no equals in the Brahmin caste. Guided by their own sense of self-respect and enlightened self-interest, had they and their communities always acted in concert, even in the matter of government appointments and political power, they would have been at the top, a place which is theirs by right. As it is, for want of efficient separate organisations of their own and of the instinct or the inclination to make the freest and the most effective publicity, their x interests have not received their proper share of attention and recognition.

Not satisfied with the possession of the key to the present political position, the radical politicians of this Presidency, who are apparently never so happy as when they ask for fresh political concessions, irrespective of their suitability to the existing conditions now ask for Home Rule, and from previous experience we fear that if a discordant note is not sounded at the proper time it will of course be made out that all India is keen about Home Rule. It is not necessary for our purpose to go into the details of this extravagant scheme, or into those of the other submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy by nineteen Members of the Imperial Legislative Council. We are not in favour of any measure which in operation, is designed, or tends completedly, to undermine the influence and authority of the British Rulers who alone in the present circumstances of India are able to hold the scales even between creed and class and to develop that sense of unity and national solidarity without which India will continue to be a congeries of mutually exclusive and warring groups without a common purpose and a common patriotism. While we dissociate ourselves entirely from unauthorised Indian Constitution--making, which seems to be a favourite occupation with a certain class of politicians we

we must say that we are strongly in favour of progressive political development of a well-defined policy of trust in the people, qualified by prudence, and of ~~truely~~ timely and liberal concessions in the wake of proved fitness. In the early days of the Indian National Congress, when that movement was directed and controlled on the spot, by such sagacious and thoughtfulmen as the late Messrs.A.O.Hume, W.E.Bonnerji, Buddrudin Tyabji, S.Ramaswami Mudaliar, Runghia Naidu, Rao Bahadur Sabapathi Mudaliar and Sir Sankaran Nair, enlightened non-Brahmins all over the Presidency gave it their hearty and loyal support. It was then though not in form and name, but in spirit and method, a truly national institution. Some of the old ideals are still there. But the spirit in which, the method by which and the persons by whom it is at present worked, cannot, all of them, commend themselves to the thinking and self-respecting section of the non-Brahmin public of this Presidency. The social reactionary and the impatient political idealists who seldom has his foot on solid earth, have now taken almost complete possession of the Congress Democratic in aims, an irresponsible bureaucracy now manipulates its wires. We sincerely hope that sane and sober politicians who know the country and its people, and who feel their responsibility to both, will soon reassert their mastery over the congress machine and direct it in strict accordance with the living realities of the present.

For our part, we deprecate, as we have suggested, the introduction of changes not warranted by the present conditions. We cannot too strongly condemn caste or class rule. We are of those who think that in the truest and best interests of India, its Government should continue to be conducted on true British principles of justice and equality of opportunity. We are deeply devoted and loyally attached to British Rule. For that rule in spite of its many short comings and occasional aberrations, is, in the main, just and sympathetic. We indeed, hope that the Rulers will, as their knowledge of the country expands, be more readily responsive to public feeling

when, of course, that feeling is clearly manifest and decidedly unambiguous, and that before they take any action they will examine the interests and wishes of each caste, class and community with more anxious care than heretofore and in a less conventional manner. When the spirit of social exclusiveness and the rigidity of class and caste begin to disappear, the progress towards self-government will unquestionably be more satisfactory. But, for the present the practical politician has to concern himself with what lies immediately in front of him.

After the triumphant conclusion of war the Indian Constitution will doubtless come before the British statesmen and British Parliament for revision. India has earned the right to demand that the basis of her constitution should be broadened and deepened, that her sons, representing every class, caste and community, according to their respective numerical strength, should be given a more effective voice in the management of her affairs, that she should be given fiscal freedom and legislative autonomy in matters affecting her domestic policy and economic position, and that, lastly she must be accorded a place in the Empire conductive to the sense of Self-respect of her Children as British subjects and not inferior in dignity and power to that occupied by any self-governing colony.

We appeal to the enlightened members of the non-Brahman Communities to be up and doing. Their future lies in their own hands. Great and pressing is the task with which they are confronted. They have in the first place to educate their boys and girls in far larger numbers than they have yet done. Associations under the responsible guidance of leading non-Brahmin gentlemen should be started and maintained in a state of efficiency, in every populous centre, not merely to induce the various non-Brahmin communities to avail themselves more freely of the existing facilities for education and to create such facilities where they do not now exist, but also to find adequate funds for the education

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of such of their poor but intelligent boys and girls as cannot obtain instruction without extraneous pecuniary help. Indeed a more vigorous educational policy for the non-Brahmins has long been over due. Side by side with the starting of associations for the advancement of the education of the non-Brahmin classes, must also be maintained social and political organizations and, where they are needixxxed, well conducted newspapers of their own, both in the vernacular and in English, to push forward their claims. By their attitude of silence and in action they have failed to make their voices heard and others more agitate than they have used them for their own ends, with the result that there is a great deal of discontent among the non-Brahmins about their Brahmin fellow countrymen of which perhaps the government is not fully aware. The discontent is growing every day, and the attention of the Government will be drawn to it. But the non-Brahmins must first help themselves. Let them do everything needful to ensure a continued educational, social, political and economic development on a broad and enduring basis; and, then their future as British subjects will be brighter and more prosperous than it is to-day. What is designated as "Nationxx Building" is a laborious task, involving and indeed necessitating in the slow process of evolution, its due performance, in the proper time, by each class and community, of the duty it owes to x itself, first and foremost. It is our firm conviction that in xxxxf India, for sometime to come at any rate, every community has primarily to put its own house in order so that when it has to co-operate with other communities, possibly with higher social pretentions, it may do so not as a dependent and helpless unit to be made a a figure--head or cats paw of, but as a self-respecting and highly developed social organization, offering its willing co-operation for the promotion of common objects or terms of perfect equality.]

[THE NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT.

NATIVE NEWSPAPER REPORTS 1917 - JANUARY TO JUNE

For the Week ending the 6th January 1917.

9. The following appears in NEW INDIA of the 20th December:--

"A MISCHIEVOUS MOVEMENT.

The South Indian People's Associaxtion.

"Elsewhere will be found the manifesto of certain non-Brahmanas who have found in Rao Bahadur P.Theagaraya Chetti an instrument to denounce the work of the National Congress and the Home Rule movement. The memorandum of the xxx nineteen non-official members of the Supreme Council is also an object of attack. We will fully examine later on this mischievous and unpatriotic movement of some shortsighted and narrow-minded people who cannot by any means be said to be the friends of their community and their country. We need not say that we condemn this movement, as no doubt every right-thinking Indian, whatever his nationality or faith, will do."]

NEW INDIA, of the 21st December, has the following:--

"The Non-Brahmana Movement.

In a short note we yesterday deprecated the movement of some misguided people who, under the guise of helping the cause of the Non-Brahmanas, are playing, as our contemporary of the HINDU put it yesterday, 'into the hands of the enemies of the national progress' . . . The rest of the long manifesto is mere froth which no sane man will take seriously. As long as India gains Home Rule it is but of secondary importance whether Brahmanas or Non-Brahmanas, Hindus or Muslims, are in prominence. We Bxxx are all children of the one mother and our interests, as those of our country, in the first instance lie in our sense of unity. Those who work for that unity are patriots and lovers of the soil; those who by their doings bring about disharmony and disunion are the enemies of their county, and such should never be trusted by any one. It is pitiful to conceive that in our midst to-day live some who are our brothers, the sons of the mother, who are shortsighted and fall prey to the 'divide and rule' policy of those who are enemies of National regeneration, and are so

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childish as not to see that in the matter of the country's progress personal feelings should be put aside. . . Under the circumstances thebest service every non-Brahmana can render to his respective community---and their number is very lagge---is mot to countenance this movement which tends to divide our people, but to support whole-heartedly the National Congress which has for the last thirty years done a splendid work of unification and which has helped in an efficient manner the cause of the Non-Brahamanas. . . We appeal to our country men who are Non-Brahmanas to listen to the voice of God within their own hearts---the voice which always procalaims the brotherhood of all Indians and advises solidarity for their common progress. That is the right spirit as all dissension is wrong."

The WEST COST SPECTATOR, of the 28th December, writes:--
"The non-Brahman manifesto has set the Brahman press of Madras gnashing its teeth and foaming in the mouth, very naturally. One paper which announced that it had decided not to open its correspondence columns to the discussion of the subject has welcomed Mr.Kesava Pillai's reply with large type and lead. These Gentlemen who cry down the manifesto have mot, perhaps, stooped to consider whether they were in any way responsible for this non.Brahman awakening and 'offensive'. . . There has been Brahman aggression, which is a fact, and instead of undoing the mischief done, they are trying to create further tension by hurling billingsgate on those responsible for the manifesto which rightly or wrongly has secured the support of the majority of non-Brahmans.. . . Non-Brahmans have had reason to believe that Home Rule would degenerate into Brahman rule and that their interests would be adversely affected were this aggression to continue. It is for the Brahmans, both 'black and white', to show how erroneous this idea is and that they would not do anything that would create resentment in the other communities, Let Mylapore and Egmore and Triplicane search their hearts and honestly say that they have done nothing to creat fear in the non-Brahmans.

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"The non-Brahman hatred is rampant in the East Coast districts and it is no wonder that the manifesto has received considerable backing in those districts."

20. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 24th December,

NEW INDIA and the NON-BRAHMAN.

writes:--"The thunderbolt has fallen. Mrs.Annie Besant has in her recent article condescended to notice the NON-BRAHMAN. It is a lie to say that the NON-BRAHMAN excites hatred against Brahmans. Here again she cannot resist the temptation of looking upon the people of India as mere children ready and willing to suckle her breast. She has no doubt in her petticoat the Brahman leaders of this town, but Non-Brahmans are too shrewd to be so. The particular feature about our leaders is self-respect and independence. No wonder that she is shying as she does. She can never hope to make tools of our Non-Brahman leaders. Men like Diwan Bahadur Subbarayulu Reddi have nothing to do with her. She knows this and hence this womanish petulance. . . So far as Non-Brahmans are concerned it is time that they now definitely understand that Mrs.Besant is against us as a class. . . We now know our position. The Government, as we have now and then seen, is conferring its favour upon the more educated community. The Government ignores us and the Brahmans also ignore us. It is plain. We now turn towards our leaders and ask them: 'What are you going to do? Our younger men are rapidly advancing in education but find that the doors are shut against them. We who cry against Englishmen coming from England and occupying higher posts find that in our own houses where we make 40 out of 41 millions we are shut off the offices to which we have a claim.' . . We have a right to claim a larger proportion of the appointments and we shall have it and the Government must give them. If the Government would not acknowledge such a broad policy, why, we must also agitate and the Government may depend upon it that we will agitate. Let the whole advanced community, the whole Brahmans led by Mrs. Besant remember that we are not therefore to be lulled by cries

of patriotism or motherland. We know what riot means. It means the setting it of Mr.Srinivasa Achari as Chairman of the Cuddalore Municipality as against Diwan Bahadur Subbarayulu Reddi. We shall notbe lulled into sleep by these flattering expressions. We know that our interests run sometimes in opposite direction to what narrow minded people think progress lies. The cry raised by the advanced classes that the Non-Brahman movement is against the progress of the country is a false cry; and those who fall victim to it are mere babies who had better turn to Mrs.Besant's breast for protection."

21. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 24th December, observes:--"We are surprised that a newspaper of the standing of the HINDU should thus deliberately display its anti Non-Brahman feeling even in such a harmless affair as the publication of an extract Sir Lethbridge in the course of an article on the Indian Tariff Reform wrote--

Jealousy of non-Brahmans.

"Rao Bahadur P.Theagaraya Chettiyar, President of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce, aptly observed, in his closely-reasoned and most statesmanlike 'address of welcome' to the Commission---'It is really a matter of wonder and astonishment to us how the industrial regeneration of the country is going to be accomplished without attempting a solution of the inevitable of customs tariffs and protection.'

"The Hindu has reprinted the article in its Christmas Number but it has carefully omitted all reference of Sir Lethbridge to Mr.Theagaraya Cheetiar. That is indeed a wonder. Here is an Englishman, an acknowledged authority on matters of tariff, who praises an Indian and that praise is very carefully avoided from being presented to the numerous subscribers of a leading newspaper. Is this to satisfy the craving, namely, of to keep back the Non-Brahman from any legitimate praise to which he may be entitled. We think that the HINDU owes an explanation to the public. The other day it was NEW INDIA that deliberately opposed Diwan Bahadur Subbarayalu Reddiyar

and today we find a paper like the HINDU deliberately taking away a sentence which ought to be read by every Indian with pride, because it contains the praise of one of our few influential workers and yet there are people who say that there is no meaning in the cry of Non-Brahman, that it is dangerous, that it is mischievous and that those who raise it are enemies of India. We have absolutely no faith in the cry that a serpent will cease to be a serpent; we cannot ignore it. The serpent is there and if we approach it it will bite us. The Non-Brahman feeling is there and it will not cease to be because we ignore it. . . What justification has a newspaper to carefully avoid reference to a leading public man of our community. . . Is this not creating in the Non-Brahman a feeling of vengeance, and yet these people cry out against the British Government and the HINDU it was that particularly attacked Lord Pentland on the Bobbili nomination in a manner which reminded us of its glorious attacks against Sir Arthur Lawley (* is awaiting Lord Pentland ~~the same fate that overtook Sir Srthur Lawley is a waiting~~ also. It would not allow reference of Rao Bahadur Theagaraja Chetty in its pages, and it is called a public journal and it has got wide support from the Indian public. What does it mean, except that the Non-Brahman is not wanted by the party of progress, self-government and Home Rule! (* some years ago. Perhaps the same fate that overtook Sir Arthur Lawlwy).

"The HINDU, the NEW INDIA, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, the SWADESAMITRAN all Brahmanical papers are pledged to the propaganda of Home Rule, and when we say that such tactics make us feel that Home Rule means Brahman rule and nothing else, Mr.Kesava Pillai rattles his thunderbolt. But what has he to say to this unprovoking insult to an acknowledge leader of our community."

30. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 31st December, writes:

Non-Brahmans and Government service.

"The other day we referred to the way in which Rao Bahadur Papparao Nayudu's son had been treated, by being passed over in favour of a Brahman. He was an M.A. and a Barrister and was an

applicant for a post which was given to a Brahman. Today we have to mention that a grandson of Mr.Karunakara Menon, the well-known Deputy Collector of Malabar, whose name is written in the histoyy of Malabar, a young man of high university qualifications and excellent family connections, applied for a Deputy Superintendentship and did not get it. He was guilty of the crime that he was neither a Muhammadan nor a Brahman! It is a pity that the Government do not seem to think that in the distribution of patronage they have got real power which must be properly utilised. We have very chanced for our young men in India, and of these chances, still less few to the Non-Brahman community. Ver few of us are educated, and if ~~xx~~ the few who are educated, are treated like this, we have not much to thank the Government. What is the use of having patronage in one's hands if it is not going to be utilised properly with an eye for the contentment of all?"

For the Week ending the 13 th January 1917.

~~Noxx2xof~~

15. The following appears in NEW INDIA of the 6th January:--

"A NEW DAILY FOR MADRAS.

The Non.Brahman movement.

"We understand that the organisers of the Non-Brahmana move~~en~~ment are now trying hard to collect funds for a daily newspaper which they propose to call 'Justice'. We mention this because of the impression in some quarters that the new movement is already a spent-up force. It is not yet, though it is bound to be; and the duty of every lover of, India is therefore, to discourage that source of mishcief to the utmost of his power."

Sir Sankaran ~~XXx~~ Nayar and the Non-Brahmans.

57. In the course of an article in English criticising the observations of a correspondent ~~x~~of the NON-BRAHMAN subscribing himself "Indignant" and denouncing an article in the COMMONWEAL regarding Sir Sankaran Nayar's visit to Madras, a correspondent of the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 6th January, says:--It is not

possible for me to say whether a man who had the heart to oppose the Hindu University scheme was the greatest Non-Brahman leader of India. I dispute the statement. He may be one of the many Non-Brahman leaders, but he is not the greatest Non-Brahman leader. How can a man who has sold his services for filthy lucre be the greatest leader? He may be great, because he has money and influence. He bears no comparison with men and women who serve the country not forx money, but out of disinterested love. "Indignant" says that Mrs.Besantis of opinion that Non-Brahman movement is a false move, that perhaps the authorities are behind it and that they would not move the Press Act. If Mrs.Besant thinks that the Non-Brahman movement is a false one she must be right.

The Non-Brahman manifesto.

58. Referring to the recent Non-Brahman manifesto, the KERALA SANCHARi, of the 3rd January, points out that it will serve as a means to impress upon the Government that they should consider the special claims of each and every community, though some people might wrongly think that it would tend to produce a gap between the two sections of the Hindu community.

Anti-Brahman feeling in Mysore.

65. A correspondent of the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 9th January, in a long letter addressed to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, complains of a growing feeling of hatred against Brahmans of late in the Representative Assembly, the Economic Conference as well as the legislative council and of the consequent disrespectful and insulting attitude of some of the Non-Brahmans officials even towards revered vedic scholars who are content to live upon a nominal State pension in recognition of their learning. The writer hopes that His Highness will inquire into the prevailing state of things and put an end to the class animosities which are so prejudicial to the advancement of the State.

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For the Week ending the 20th January 1917.

2. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending the 14th Janaury, has the following:-

Non-Brahmans and the Small Causes Court Bench.

"AN INJUSTICE.

"Is this all? At a time when the Non-Brahmans are continuing to act, the Government seem to threaten to cut the ground from under thier feet. It has been more or less a recognised principle for many years that one of the small causes court Judges should be a Non-Brahman. Of course, we leave aside the Chief Judge who ought to be a Barrister-at-Law. Messrs. Muthuswami Chetti, Ponnuswami Pillai, V.P. DeRozario, Subrahmanyam, C.Krishnan, V.Anantan Nayar, and Varadarajulu Nayudu were all Non-Brahmans. ~~Now Sir V.C. Desika Achari who is a Brahman.--This~~ Now Mr.Sambamurti Ayyar has been quietly promoted to keep company with Sir V.C.Desika Achari who is a Brahman. This is positive injustiee to our community; and we are sorry Mr.Gillman should have lost sight of a principle. What ought to have gone to Mr.Kothandaramanjulu Nayudu has gone to Mr.Sambamurti Ayyar. We raise our little voice against what appears to us to be a positive injustice."

18. In an article headed "Need for Caution" the NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 14th January, states:--"We congratulate

Sir Sankaran Nayar and the Non-Brahman movement.

NEW INDIA for its all night vigilance over the progress of the Non-Brahman movement. Even the Criminal Investigation Department and Sir P.S. Sivaswami Ayyar have lost their importance in its eyes as compared with our movement. Today it calls us mischief-mongers; and its little mongrel, the COMMONWEAL, calls us traitors. Then one morning it hears that a Non-Brahman daily, the Justice, is to appear and appeals to every one to suppress it. And the ceaseless watch is kept again until it hears a 'rumour' that Sir Sankaran Nayar is behind us and seeks to defend him--an indirect way of damning them."

Writing on this subject, UNITED INDIA AND NATIVE STATES,

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for the week ending 18th January, remarks:--"NEW INDIA gives currency to a rumour that Sir Sankaran Nayar inspired the new movement in Madras against Home Rule. We suppose that the Non-Brahman movement is referred to and the remarks of our Home Rule contemporary are quite characteristic of its intolerant methods of political discussion. . . NEW INDIA is not furthering the best interests of the country or the cause of Home Rule by referring in such cynical and contemptuous terms to a popular and widespread movement which aims at the uplift of a people numbering some forty millions out of a total population of forty-two millions in the Presidency."

NEW INDIA and the Non-Brahman movement.

19. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 14th January, writes "The voice of the Non-Brahman communities is beginning to be heard. The Mahatmas are writing in the esoteric zone, and NEW INDIA is yelling with dishevelled hair, because JUSTICE is to make its appearance shortly.

"Non-Brahmans must beware of themselves, for NEW INDIA has invoked a SAKTI from Mahadeva on Non-Brahmans, and one day we shall all wake up to find--we are gone. . . And how does the Brahman organ NEW INDIA hope to bring up the forces? By calling on every one to suppress the movement. And she is the High Priestess of liberty of speech and action, a martyr, a Simon deMontfort as the Indian National Congress called her leading India to self-government. She would suppress the Non-Brahman movement. And yet lo, our political leaders are nowhere more pleased than under the sunshine of her smile."

The Non-Brahman movement

20. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 14th January, observe "Just as we sometimes find fault with the Criminal Intelligence Department that they have sedition in their head, we have around us some people who have suddenly got the Non-Brahman movement in their brain. It is all a question of guilty conscience and nothing more. Selfish people find that at the moment of their plucking the red real fruit of Government

service, the storm should come and carry the branch beyond their reach. The attitude of the Brahman-edited papers is pitiable it is something like standing on fire. They wait for anything to be said anywhere against the movement--and they produce it in their columns with a flourish. When there is nothing to be had, the recourse is had to rumours which always perch on the top of NEW INDIA which, as if inspired by Rishis, has taken upon itselfx the sacred duty of 'scotching' the NON-BRAHMAN movement. . . The latest man who has suddenly become great by calling Brahmans gods and Non-Brahmans slaves is one Subbayya of the Mysore Vokkaligar Sabha, described by the Brahman KARNATAKA as the greatest of God's creation on ~~axxkx~~ earth. We publish the production of this worthy who has sought an obscure sheet, leaving the weekly of his caste which has ten times its circulation. May Brahmans bless Subbayya; may he ever lick the feet of Brahmans for, as he says, ' it is the great Brahman Rishis who gave us our grand religion.' And poor Subbayya, he asks: 'Can we perform our marriages without the blessings ~~should surely be at the feet of~~ of Brahmans priests.' One who owes his wife to Brahman blessings should surely be at the feet of his benefactors. . . Why, in Mysore the Brahman has not yet become the Maharaja--every other thing he is. And when the Non-Brahman opens his eyes and ask why, he is called a goose, the Brahman KARNATAKA thus insults His Highness' caste-men by describing the Brahmans as superior friends who have all all along condescended to exact from His Highness and others 'instinctive regard and affection similar to those cherished by a younger brother towards the elder.' . Let new India call upon all to suppress the movement. Let ~~Subbayya~~ Subbayya lick the Brahman's feet for having performed his marriage. The Non-Brahman movement will not slip. Rao Bahadur Tyagaraja Chettiyar never consulted Subbayya or the KARNATAKA when he resolved to speak out the truth, unfurl the flag and march on. And lo and behold--millions are behind him.

Writing on this subject, the SOUTH INDIAN MAIL, for the week ending 15th January, says:--"The Non-Brahman manifesto is the topic of the hour. It only shows that a society at the outset of its political advancement is exposed to disintegrating forces

forces which, if not timely restrained and disciplined into proper channels, will tear the body politic into pieces. It is xunfortunate that at a time when the responsible Indian leaders are engaged in all seriousness to formulate a scheme as to the p post-war position of India, the attention of the country should be diverted to a question whose satisfactory solution is of the utmost importance in any demand for the grant of self-government to this country. . . We do not think that the movement can be stifled by sheer opposition and by proclaiming that it ought to be discouraged. On the other hand, we feel that it is possible to make use of the vitality which the movement may possess by wisely dealing with it, in the interest of the common cause. . . What our leaders should aim at is to see that the element of disruption which such movements naturally contain are removed and whatever there is in them of a constructive nature is brought together for the common good. . . The time is come for the constitution of an arbitration board consisting of the representatives from the several sections of the Indian community to which all such differences should be refferred for settlement. We fear that some such remedy is necessary if at all it is to be wished that further outburst of disintegrating forces should be prevented."

Sudras and Brahmans.

80. The CHOUDARI for November 1916 (received on the 10th January 1917) contains an article from the pen of a correspondent, in which he quotes a stanza from MANU which means that the Brahman should take all the earningsx of the Sudra, for the latter is not the master of his earnings. He surmises that this stanza is an interpolation made by self-interested Brahmans, and remarks that great harm has been done by the Brahmans to the Sudras in this and other ways.

The editor adds a note at the end of the article to the effect that the opinions contained in the article are opposed to the ideals which the paper has in view, and begs to be excused for publishing it by mistake.

100. In a lengthy leading article giving a summary of the manifesto published by Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetti and other Non-Brahman leaders, the MYSORE STAR of the 14th January refers to the indignation expressed by some Brahmans over it and thereupon comments:--It is surprising that the moment the non-Brahmans expressed their own particular grievances, the Brahmans should raise a cry that anti-Brahman feeling is growing in the country. Northern India seems to be somewhat free from this Brahman--Non-Brahman controversy. It is unfortunate that in Southern India alone it should be so rife. If the Non-Brahman community of Madras should seek its own advancement, we don't see why it should be accused of hating Brahmans. This is like the wolf-and-the-lamb story. Public service is not the special heritage of any particular community. What harm or untruth is there in the statement that appointments in the public service are being monopolised, as it were, by the Brahmans and that the other communities should derive the benefit of the services in proportion to their numbers? Are not the few lakhs of educated Indians unable to bear the sight of a country like India with a population of crores being governed by a few thousand Europeans with some of the highest appointments always in the hands of Englishmen? So, when the few lakhs of educated Indians have all the appointments appropriated by themselves, where would be the harm in saying that the crores of Non-Brahman Indians should also have a share in them? If the interests of INDIA and not self-aggrandisement were ~~of the country should be~~ the true motive behind the cry of SWARAJ claiming that the administration of the country should be conducted by the people themselves and not by English officials, there ought to be no opposition whatever to the attempts of the Non-Brahman Indians to bring about their own advancement. Is it not disunion that caused the country to fall into the hands of foreigners? Is it not ideas of self-aggrandisement that wound the ~~hands~~ feelings of others? No thoughtful advocate of self-government would take up an unfriendly attitude towards other compatriots whether self-government is to come off today or

Brahmans and non-Brahmans.

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centuries hence, not true patriot would thoow obstacles in its way. The apprehnesions which the Non-Brahmans may be expressing at present are not the outcome of hatred against anybody or tratorous designs against the country but only the result of fear that in case India succeeds in obtaining self-government the unrestrained sway of some who have long been steeped in selfishness might hamper the progress of the backward communities. Knowing the truth, is it fair to make a mountain a molehill and condemn the Non-Brahman manifesto as a reactionary movement? When the whole world knows what difficulties the British Ministry had to face in granting Home Rule to Ireland and in conciliating the opposing parties and when the leaders of the country realise how it is impossible to effect its progress unless the Moslems too are conciliated and when they are trying their best to bring about this identity of interests, we cannot help regretting and feeling surprised that instead of sinking the slight differences which have arisen among their own brethren, the Brahman newspapers should add fuel to the fire and increase the estrangement. We hope that in future at least our contemporaries will give up this practice of raking up sores and conduct themselves in such a manner as to promote mutual cordiality and national interests.

The Brahmans and the Non-Brahmans.

While there is nothing to be said against the efforts of the Non-Brahmans for the uplift of their community and for the furtherance of their wown interests, the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 13th January, observes that they should not allow the quarrels between themselves and the Brahmans to interfere with the work for the advancement of the country as a whole, which will be playing into the hands of the enemies of self-government, and that only union among all classes of people can thwart the efforts of such persons against material changes being made in the administrative machinery of India at the conclusion of the war.

For the week ending the 27th January 1917.

15. The following appears in the NON-BRAHMAN for the week ending 21st January:--"The Brahman voice is at last

The Non-Brahmans movement

beginning to be heard. They are against the Non-Brahman movement, not because the united front of the country will be breached, but some vested interests would suffer. . . . Here is the subtle plea for the Varnashrama Dharma! Can the Panchama do what the Brahman does? Perhaps not. But it has been found that a Brahman can do what a Pan-chama does--serve. It is because the Brahman has invaded every service that this movement has risen. 'Go back to beg and we will give our rice with the largest handful." That is the voice of the Non-Brahman. . . The HINDU was 'pained and surprised' when the Non-Brahman menifesto appeared. And so was every Brahman or BRAHMANI--edited paper--NEW INDIA is edited by a Brahmani. Now, we are all never tired of Mother India and united front and such supreme language, but that is all for Anglo-Indian consumption. What is the real fact? Why should the HINDU be pained and surprised at the Non-Brahman movement? Having kicked the Hon'ble the Raja of Bobbili, did it expect him to fall down at the feet of the great Brahman editor?"

16. [The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 21st January, writes:-"Mrs.Besant's paper tells a lie when it says that every

Non-Brahmans and Home Rule.

'Brahmana' and 'Non-Brahmana' of note 'is a Home Ruler.' It is not so Among the prominent 'Non-Brahmanas' who are not Home Rulers, and more than that, who are opposed to it, are Diwan Bahadur C.Karunakara Menon, Dr.T.M.Nayar, Rao Bahadur P.Theagaraja Chettiar There is Diwan Bahadur P.Kesava Pillai, and of course, he is a very prominent 'Non-Brahmana', but because of his sacrificing more immediate needs for very distant realities, he is fast losing touch with his own great community.] Of course he is more than compensated for it by the praise from his theosophical chief; and his repudiation has got him praise from the Punjab--Why? Because the two Punjab daily papers are edited by Madras Brahmans!

And instinctively they have attacked the Non-Brahman movement."

87. Writing about the Non-Brahmana movement, the HITAKARINI,

The Non-Brahmana movement

of the 7th January, says that at a time when all the Indian people are trying to unite into one create mutual ill-feeling. This will certainly lend support to the raillery of the white men. A rumour is current that this movement has a measure of support from the European Governmentofficers, But how far it is true cannot be decided now.

Referring to the remarks of Mr.Kandasami Chetti made in a

Non-Brahman association.

meeting of the association, the ANDHRAPARTRIKA, of the 23rd January, remarks that the statement "The Brahmans are hating the English" is very ill-considered.

Writing on the Non-Brahman movement, the DESABHIMANI, of the

TheNon-Brahman movement.

31st December, saya:--It is the dullness of the Non-Brahmans that is the cause of their backwardness in education. The remedy for this is SWARAJ. If they obstruct the grant of SWARAJ, their condition will grow worse. The attempts of those who wished to create quarrels between the Hindus and the Muhammadans have now failed. We hope that the Brahmans will consult with the Non-Brahmans and try to destroy the seeds of hostile attitude towards them.

For the week ending the 3rd February 1917.

16. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 28th January, observes:-

NEW INDIA and the Non-Brahman movement.

"While Rao Bahadur P.Theagarraja Chettiyar was engaged in giving most important evidence ever given by an Indian before the Industrial Commission, NEW INDIA was seeking for an opportunity to vilify him and the movement over which he presides. It dare not base its vulgar attack on the enthusiastic public meeting, but goes all the way to the columns of the WESTMINISTER GAZETTE of England to find an introduction. . . Many thanks, mother, for the kind words! and we must break up our Non-Brahman movement,

return the money to those who subscribed and go home! For what do we complain about? Nothing. Allix these meetings, all this enthusiasm count for nothing, for Mrs.Besant cannot understand what wewant. . . Having answered it to her own satisfaction that we are all mad men who have nobusiness to complain and are yet complaining, she the great statesman that she is, join us with the Government for she has so trained her thousands of readers that the very association with Government is considered to be pat unpatriotism. . . We are surprised that at this time of the day, any serious arguments should be advanced against the movement. What is the use of saying that we have no business to combine or act when we have combined and acted and are combining ? That is the best argument. We are not children, neither are we Besant worshippers. Nothing is more insulting to us than to be told while we are kept out of our legitimate share! 'Look. Sir Sankaran Nayar is not at the top.' And did he go up to the top against the sacred ranks of Brahman selfishness? Against the outrageous outburst of Mrs.Besant against his nationality? Why should baby Muthukrishnan be seen standing over the shoulders of Brahman Congressmen as all-India Congressmen and not Mr.Kesava Pillai whom he abused? Why should Ayyar youths be sent to learn scientific education in Japan by the National Fund and Industrial Association when Non-Brahman barbers are available and seek help? Of course no shavings scholarship is yet given, but we have reached the weaving and mechanic stage. Every door is closed against us and every Brahman official stands and whenever a vacancy occurs, he lets in his wife's brother or his brother's son-in-law. And when Mr.Tyagaraya Chettiyar comes out with the resolution that this shall not be, that this nonsense shall cease and his great community rallies round him, these people put up Mrs.Besant on the terrace to say: 'There be treacherous enemies, unpatriotic ne'er do-wells. They have equal opportunities but they are idle.' They have no guidance.' The British Government may be afraid of her and tolerate her ways. We know her and her ways. 'Get thee behind Satan' is our answer to this incessant perpetual Non-Brahmana hatred by this irish Brahmani."

17. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending the 28th January, writes:--"'It is already a pent up force--' was what the Brahmani organ, NEW INDIA, said of the Non-Brahman movement. 'It is born of mean jealousy at the rapid advancement of the Brahmans on the part of a few envious beings. It will die.' Was the generous verdict of the Brahman community, and if there were still any waverers, they were asked to read the Kesava Pillai and Venkataranga Reddi repudiations. And everyone was sure of it that the movement will die. If it does not die, mother Besant will give the order to her million Home Rule children that it should be forced to die, for are they not traitors, they who, at this supreme moment when Home Rule is extended to us by the Bureaucracy trembling under the whip of NEW INDIA, would not receive it? . . . To such of these miserable creatures who had long played the game of self-aggrandisement in the name of patriotism and mother country, the great dissilusionment has come with the public meeting that was held at the Tondamandalam School last Sunday. The hall was crowded, and still they came, young and old men, eager to be present at the meeting. The applause with which Rao Bahadur Theogaraya Chettiar was received by the assembled populace showed the contempt with which the abuse of the old champion by the Brahmans was received by the community. Here was the man who had come forward to speak out what the community had long felt. Here was the man who had been wildly abused by the Brahman press for championing them. His very appearance was received with tremendous applause. And what did he say? The cold, thrilling truth that always makes him the dread of his enemies. . . In his short experience of 35 years he said, he was obliged to form certain notions which were now being solidified slowly and steadily and which had made him at last come forward and take certain action. For several years past many gentlemen had been asking him to take some steps to see that the Non-Brahmans were uplifted. . . No one can forget the enthusiasm that flowed and overflowed at the meeting. For ever shall rest the wish of the narrow-minded people, the wish that was father to the thought, that the movement, if not already a pent-up force,

The Non-Brahman movement.

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would soon be. Let the scoffers come to scoff. If the Brahman would have self-preservation, let them kx make a virtue of necessity. Let them, even if they are not generous at heart, pretend generosity. When the Pacific Ocean community is moving, it moves with a force that is irresistable."

75. The ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 24th January, writes under this heading as follows:--Many wrangle as to who are responsible for this movement--Brahmans or Non-Brahmans? It may be asked by all how a society started by Non-Brahmans can owe its existence to Brahmans. To those who give a moment's thought to the condition of Indian nationality before Lord Curzon came to our country as Viceroy and how his rule contributed to its growth, it will not fail to appear that the Brahmans are responsible for the Non-Brahman Association. Many of our patriots have on many an occasion expressed that but for Lord Curzon, the world would still be unknown to the name of "Indian nationality."

Non-Brahman Association.

4. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 4th February, observes:- "We do not comment upon the Public Services Commission Report because we are absolutely unconcerned with the fight between Brahmans andthe British Government as to who should get employments with pay and power. When our community has advanced in education we shall have something to say. In the meanwhile we condemn the entire fabric of public service built upon examination and colour prejudice. We shall try to forget the Commission Report: but if we remember, we shall make an effort against the temptation to write sedition."

The Public Services Commission

For the week ending the 10th February 1917.

11. The following appears in the NON-BRAHMAN for the week ending 4th February:--"The fact that the HINDU and NEW INDIA seek the aid of unknown Subbayya of the Vokkaligar Sabha

The Non-Brahman movement.

shows us to what extent the fear of the Non-Brahman movement has dragged them. The drowning man clutches at a straw, and the Brahman organs are only showing their cloven feet by pretending to ignore the movement by closing their correspondance columns, at the same time dragging into unmerited publicity any one who writes against the movement. And these be the statesmen who would teach Lord Pentland the art of Government!"

The NON-BRAHMAN V. NEW INDIA.

12. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 4th February, states:- "There are those who call the NON-BRAHMAN rash in its writings. . . . WE know it, and we write so with purpose. Such writings alone tell. And we tread the footsteps of Mrs.Besant who today owns and edits the largest circulated paper in India. . . Well, what is milk in NEW INDIA cannot turn into gutter-water in the NON-BRAHMAN."

For the week ending the 17th February 1917.

The Non-Brahman movement.

~~xxxxxxx~~ 19. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 11th February has the following:--"The pity of it! The Brahmans are still at the Non-Brahman Manifesto. It has got straight into their brain and even now, when the force of the movement is undoubted, and the leaders have organised, the sorry and the miserable compaigning of abuse has not yet ceased. They think that the words that fall from their lips will have divine significance, and that the public can be led away. Here is the latest specimen of miserable Brahmans' misrepresentation of the Non-Brahman movement. . . Mrs.Besant, the champion of Smartha Brahmans, as opposed to Mr.Kasturiranga Ayyangar who has taken unto himself the Ayyangar section of it, has been the victim of a huge hoax. Her antipathy to the Non-Brahman movement is well known, and taking advantage of it, her 'own correspondent' at Bangalore graphically sent an ingenious speech put into the mouth of the President of Vikkaligar Conference. The result? Readers of NEW INDIA in the Conference were surprised at the protruding lies of

the paper. To what a miserable plight do newspapers and newspaper correspondents stoop in their campaign of evil against the Non-Brahman movement! Perhaps God has given special permission to some people to tell lies in the service of the Motherland!"

75. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 16th February, writes:- "The editor of the HARVEST FIELD, a monthly journal conducted by the Wesleyan Missionaries of Mysore, in writing about the non-Brahman manifesto has done his best to augment the mutual hatred between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans. He says that the Brahmans are only a few in number, and yet very powerful, that owing to their predominance, the non-Brahmans are (not?) coming to the front, that the non-Brahmans have now begun to advance that in the event of Home Rule the British will reap the service, and that they are therefore opposed to self-government. The editor has thus sought to stir up hatred against the Brahmans and to create differences between the Brahmans and non-Brahmans. It is from the Brahmans that Christ got the precept that you must do good unto those that do you evil and He preached this precept to the missionaries. The latter have not profited by it. They do a bad turn to those that did them good. It is the Indians that gave the Christians their Christ. It is they that taught them their precepts. Christ came to Bengal, studied our VEDIC and PURANIC principles and preached them to the West. This missionary editor could have loved the Indians at least for this reason. On the other hand he is trying to bring about discord among them. Even the students in India are better than those missionaries. Though the latter ridicule our religion and customs, our people still serve as teachers in the Mission schools and our boys and girls attend those schools. Our Government is giving them immense aid. From these things at lease the missionaries could have known that Indians do only good to those that would do them evil. We regret to see that they are unable to comprehend this fact.

The missionaries and the non-Brahman manifesto.

85. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 6th February, writes:--Recently a new movement has been started in Madras. Certain Hindus have established a non-Brahman party in opposition to the Brahmans, and have openly avowed their objects. They have already started a Weekly Journal in English and are now making arrangements for the publication of a Daily paper.

"Non-Brahmans and Mussalmans"

We have no concern with the domestic squabbles of the Hindus. We observe the matter in the light of the affair of the Sunni and the Shiah Colleges. But the amazing thing about this is, non-Brahman party is endeavouring to convince Mussalmans that the latter also are non-Brahmans and should, therefore, join this party!

We are astounded as to whence this logic emanated, which philosophy, political or social, has convinced these wiseacres that Mussalmans are non-Brahmans. Are these gentlemen ready to accept the corrolary to their logic, viz.: as they are non-Brahmans, they are, therefore, Mussalmans?

The editor proceeds to say "there are only three factors in Brahman unity, viz., religion politics, civility and social intercourse. In regard to the first we are non-Brahmans and for the matter of that non-Hindus, non-Christians and non-Parsis as well. As to the third we have neither part nor lot in Brahman and non-Brahman manners and customs. Our manners and customs are absolutely distinct. The second factor alone unites us with all religions and nationalities. We and they are subjects of one king. One and the same law is applicable to them and us alike. Though our places of worship are separate, but in the house of justice we all have to meet on a common platform.

This shows that political rights alone are common to us both. If we can ever bring about unity and concord, this is the only way to success. But alas! Brahmans and non-Brahmans are both leading us astray. They care not for our political rights. Whatever they do, is for themselves. It is only by accident or consequence that we are benefited by some of their plans.

If we take the question of the Hindus and Muhammadans of Southern India into consideration and recall to mind certain important and painful incidents, our sense of self-respect would never allow us to arrive at a friendly soludtion of the problem. The Hindus and Mussalmans of Northern India are undoubtedly, to a certain extent, fortunate in that they are neighbours, friends and associates. A common language also promotes social intercourse. But in Southern India Hindus and Mussalmans are absolute strangers to one another. Besides, the Hindus do not even realise that as to whether Mussalmans have a right to a place in the Sun or not. The condition of Madras itself is somewhat satisfactory; because British civilisation and British interference have, to a some extent, brought Hindus and Mussalmans together.

But this understanding, which is being brought about in grand meetings and parlour reunions, produce little effect on the people in general. The old gulf of estrangement between the Hindus and Mussalmans has yet to be bridged and Mussalmans are still the victims of religious hatred and national contempt. Mussalmans, who are ready to eat the food prepared by Hindus and Brahmans, may not enter their hotels, touch their household utensils or sit near them in their own circles, and this restriction is so rigid in the south that it makes one recall the case of white and black in the Colonies. In fact that painful story in the Colonies illustrates the point best.

8 If this is religion they are welcome to their Dhram. But the question is how can Mussalmans, who are the followers of a religion, whose impulses are free and generous, unite with a community that does not hesitate to hurt political and national feelings of Muslims?

These very difficulties have destroyed even the concord born of politics. Political Science is the instrument which maintains the religious and national freedom. Now, when there is nothing in common between us (Hindus and Mussalmans) as regards religion but rather a very obvious difference how is it possible to have political unity?

We very much regret that the behaviour of the original inhabitants of India and their treatment of other all go to prove that we are strangers and aliens. If we are not strangers, we are actually outsiders. In the light of western politics however they want us to see that we are also sons of mother India. Alas! for the sonship to the mother that nourished both her children with the same milk but separated their meat and drink and left it impregnated with poison.

We do not understand, even supposing we consent to call ourselves non-Brahmans, what kind treatment will this Hindu party extend to us? Is it ready to grant us the all-important rights of brotherhood? The only rights we demand are those which are essential to equality, mutual forbearance and life in common.

For the Week ending the 24th February 1917.

NEW INDIA and the Non-Brahman movement.

19. ~~12~~ The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending the 18th February remarks:--"NEW INDIA, which hitherto was carefully avoiding all reference to Diwan Bahadur C,Karunakara Menon, and which found in the Non-Brahman Movement the proverbial red rag, has thought it worth while to vigorously work formaking Mr.Karunakara Menon, the president of the South Arcot (Madras Provincial) Conference. .. The educated zone of Non-Brahman community, which is accustomed to read newspapers is rather troubled over the vigorous wooing of Mr.Karunakara Menon who is the voice of our community. 'Save me from my friends,' was an historic exclamation in the Legislative Council by Diwan Bahadur S.Subbarayalu Reddiyar. It is time that Diwan Bahadur Karunakara Menon made a similar exclamation. But the motive behind this wooing is plain. Non-Brahmans in South Arcot would have nothing to do with the Conference, for it is an entirely Brahman organisation deliberately made to keep out Diwan Bahadur Subbarayalu Reddiyar. Well, they are throwing the net to Mr.Menon, so that they may say: "Who says the Conference is a Brahman Conference? ~~Well~~ Lo, the President is one of the most important of the Non-Brahman leaders.' Well, we have seen

through the trick. . . . Thus Mrs.Besant is most vigorously working for Diwan Bahadur C,Karunakara Menon who, she told her readers, was praising Sir Harold Stuart to escape the Press Act. This woman, without any cause, without any provocation abused an ornament of our community and a leader whose character stands high and commands the admiration and respect of the Government and the people. How is it that she now takes upon herself to see that Mr.Menon is elected President? How is it that she is writing upon the subject day after day, praising Mr.Menon? We know it. It is to draw him out of the movement, to conciliate the movement which she abused. We have faith in the judgment of Mr.Menon. Surely he could not be blind to the fact that the Madras Provincial Conference at Cuddalore is a Brahman affair. Diwan Bahadur Subbarayalu Reddiyar is out of it--was pulled out of it by a stinking combination of Brahman vakils and vakilets. And Mr.Srinivasa Achari is the apple of the Besantine eyes. And so Mrs.Besant wants to make it a success. Non-Brahmans would keep off in a body from the conference. She knows it. And so the bait to Mr.Menon, It is for Non-Brahmans to show that they deserve self-government by refusing to be sung into sleep by Besantine lullabies."

The Collectorship of South Arcot

20. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 18th February, states:-"A most unfortunate event has occurred, and we fear we see the hand of the Brahman in it. Khan Bahadur Vapuchi Marakkayar Usman Sahib is said to be the Collector of South Arcot in place of Khan Bahadur Aziz-ud-din Sahib, C.I.E., I.S.O., who is elected to the Board of Revenue. The NON-BRAHMAN paid a tribute to him as an ideal non-Brahman Collector. But Mr.Marakkayar ought to have been passed over in favour of Khan Bahadur Bazululah, a capable official who would have made an ideal Collector. And he will have time to rise to the Executive Council via the Board of Revenue. As it is Brahman officials will have the chance, and Mr.Bazulullah may have to retire as Collector.'

For the week ending the 3rd March 1917.

4. JUSTICE, of the 1st March, observes:--"In our last article we pointed out that University education is for the few. It will be difficult to make the people in this country realise this fact. Among us a university degree has become a necessary passport for securing a Government appointment; and to secure a suitable Government appointment is the highest ambition of the average educated Indian. The Government to a very large extent is responsible for the present unsatisfactory state of the Universities. They could have made arrangements for recruiting Government servants by special Government examinations which need have no connection with the University examinations. . . In England the various civil service examinations are quite independent of University degrees, and a similar procedure in India would have the great advantage of relieving the unhealthy pressure on the Universities. Then every boy who passes through the Secondary schools will not try to enter the University but will take the short cut that will lead him to his heart's desire-a Government appointment. . . What do the Government want with University-trained men? We know that at present there are Masters of Arts in Physics serving as Sub-Magistrates and perhaps Bachelors of Arts in Mathematics as Inspectors of Salt and Abkari. The arrangement is absurd. All that the Government want are men of respectability, of good character and physique, and of reasonable general education. These can be secured by a special civil service examination rather than by recruitment from among men who have been studying in an affiliated college with one eye on the Senate House and the other on the Secretariat. The average University graduate in this Presidency thinks it beneath his dignity to follow a commercial or agricultural career. We are just of the opposite opinion. We believe that the most unfortunate thing that could happen to a young man in full ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ possession of all his faculties is to be made a salaried official. In the prime of life to have all initiative stopped, all faculties cramped, condemned to move in a groove for

Madras University affairs.

for the rest of his life, till death or superannuation puts an end to the drudgery is a terrible sentence. Our object in writing this article is to offer advice to the young men of the non-Brahman Hindu community in this Presidency, to try and get out of the groove along which their predecessors had travelled, and to see if they cannot arrange their lives a little better than those who had gone before them, had done. . . Our advice to such non-Brahman youths is to turn their attention to somemore useful channels and to give a helping hand in developing the resources of this great country. Agriculture is our greatest industry. Our industries and commerce come next. These are careers well worthy of the young men of India. There is more self-respect in them and there is more money in them too. But, of course, the young men may turn round and ask us--it is all very well for you to lecture to us like this, but where are the openings for us?"

The Madras Executive Council.

20. JUSTICE, of the 27th February, states:--"The retirement of Sir P.S.Sivaswami Ayyar from the Madras Executive Council is not an event of any great public importance. Nor is the elevation of Diwan Bahadur P.Rajagopala Achariyar to his place a matter for much satisfaction. Sir Sivaswami Ayyar's inclusion in the Government did not materially add to its efficiency or popularity, and we do not expect his successor to be an improvement. On the last occasion a Brahman lawyer succeeded another Brahman lawyer. Now a Brahman official takes the place vacated by the Brahman lawyer, and the Brahman community may rejoice at it. Sir Siwaswami Ayyar's appointment was not however made in violation of any recognised principle. But the appointment of a permanent official, in the present case a statutory civilian, to a place understood to be reserved for one who was expected to introduce into the administration a new spirit and a new point of view, the first instance of the kind since Lord Morley's reforms were given effect to, is, indeed, a distinct step backward, which would have been characterised as such by

local critics but for a reason too obvious to need comment. Nor is the official record of the new councillor such as to inspire confidence and hope. Home Rulers and Congress politicians are evidently pleased with the way in which the Brahmanical succession has been ensured for another five years. But the bulk of the people of this Presidency remain where they did; and in spite of Home Rulers and congressmen they have, as in the past, to look up to the British Government to hold the scales even . . . It is not our purpose to review the work of Sir P.S.Sivaswami Ayyar as a member of the Executive Council. His friends, with all their ingenuity, could only indulge in the usual platitudes. The credit for everything done either by the Madras University or by the Madras Government, during the time he was a member of the one or the other, is given to him. He was a member of the Madras University Syndicate, and also represented the University on the Legislative Council; and, naturally, the panegyrist associates everything done during his time by the Syndicate, the University, and the Legislative Council with his name. But he gives no evidence that the initiative and the inspiration emanated from Sir Sivaswami Ayyar, or that he supplied the driving power . . . But, as we said, we do not propose to go into the details of Sir P.S.Sivaswami Ayyar's work. But we must say a word about him as a member of the Madras Legislative Council. There were occasions when his statements, had they been made by a European Member of the Government, would have provoked hostile criticism of a most uncompromising kind, both in the Council and, outside it, in the press and on the platform. But by his non-official Indian colleagues, he was very tenderly handled. Among his accomplishments whatever they are, he does not possess those of the graceful speaker and the quick-witted debater in any appreciable degree. . . These, however, are not the qualities which make an efficient administrator, a good debater, or the trusted custodian and protector of the interests and the inspirer of the respect, goodwill and confidence of every section and class of the people."

23. JUSTICE, of the 28th February, observes:--"The majority report of the Public Services Commission gave the death blow to the idea of simultaneous examinations in England and India for the Indian Civil Service. And at the same time it touched the professional agitator in India at his tenderest spot and made him set up the loudest howl he has ever attempted in his political career. . . Some educated Indians really believe that if simultaneous examinations in India and England were established they could capture the majority of appointments. They quite forget the fact that not a single Indian has till now got through the competitive examination in England with the help of his Indian training alone. That, however, is a matter of detail. When the Public Services Commission came, the whole of the Brahmanical evidence went in favour of simultaneous examinations. . . We have had examples in this Presidency of men who were simply great at passing examinations and yet who, when they were appointed to high executive appointments, did not come up to the expectations of the Government. We have also examples of men who are pronounced successes as high executive officers, who, we feel sure, would cut a very sorry figure at any competitive examination. 'No, Mr. Abdur Rahim, we are afraid that you have been misled by an examination-passing, place-hunting class, the practical application of whose views would be ruination to the Muhammadan community'. . . Surely the men of such a race with their glorious past traditions, with high character and sound business capacity are not to be thrust in the background because they could not pass a few examinations which, after all, as they exist in this country, are only tests of memory--and that, not even of lasting memory. We are afraid that Mr. Abdur Rahim has done an injury to his community, which, thanks to the good sense of his colleagues on the Public Services Commission, has not proved a serious one. A Brahman lawyer is reported to have said that Mr. Abdur Rahim has found an abiding place in the hearts of the people of this country. That is a way that the Brahman has of talking of his community as the people of India.

The Public Services Commission

We are not quite convinced that Brahmans will admit a Muhammadan into the inner sanctum of their hearts. Perhaps Mr.Abdur Rahim may be temporarily permitted to occupy a corner of the outer verandah of the Brahmanical heart. We cannot help thinking that, after all, he would have been more comfortable with a fixity fixity of tenure, in the hearts of the members of his own community."

Nationalism in the Madras Presidency.

25. JUSTICE, of the 2nd March, states:--"Madras has been called the benighted Presidency and even the globetrotter and the cold-weather tourist often give us the cold shoulder. Recent events have not improved the position,--far from it. Lord Curzon gave this part of India a certificate for its sobriety, moderation and good sense. Others have also done the same. Does Madras deserve the compliment now? Has Madras become a centre of advanced politica thought as if by the intervention of some supernatural or extraneous agency? It is, however, a significant circumstance that though the Home Rule movement was started in Madras, and though this city continues to be the chosen home and head-quarters of the new species of politician, where, of course, he meets with no formidable obstacle, the reforms already granted have not always been worked in the proper spirit in this part of India; and the self-styled Madras nationalist, who professes to fix his eye steadily at the elevated angle of political unreality, has not a word to say against it. Neither the Government nor the politicians are entirely free from blame in this matter. . . The clannishness of the Brahman is proverbial, and as he has been at the head of the old hierarchy of caste, other castes have followed him. Of late for political reasons, the politically-minded Brahman professes to be publicly altruistic and catholic in his tastes. But outside and beyond the public gaze the Brahmans stand together not merely for social purposes, which, of course, in this country of castes is not unusual, but, not infrequently, with political motives behind. . . Why should the Brahman lawyer and the Brahman Government official, men who have dropped the ancient

ideal of caste, now come forward as upholders of Varnasramadharma? Is it also the outcome and product of the new patriotism? . . . But these are the men who clamour for Home Rule, and separatist ambition, who set their faces against the progress of every section and class, however overwhelmingly strong, and who fancy that they are the people of India, forgetting that ~~they~~ by their clannish spirit and selfish aims they block the way and make the development of the country on the most healthy and the broadest lines almost impossible."

Home rule leagues and Non-Brahman leaders: a perverse idea

76. In an article under this heading, a correspondent to the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 17th February, Observes:--It is regrettable that some perverse.minded Non-Brahman leaders have, out of considerations of jealously and selfishness, discouraged the leagues, and in some places even suppressed them. We cannot help calling such persons, educated or uneducated, traitors to the country. It is something like asking all the other members of a family to starve, finding one member devoid of appetite. Does a patient that has been starving relish food? Can this society of ours which is accustomed to slavery relish self-government and liberty? It is immaterial what section amongst us gets self-government; only we may have quarrels among ourselves but not with a third party. . . It is applying our own halter round our neck. It is suicidal. . . Where is the justice of apurning self-government? The bureaucracy of our Government are trying to ignore our rights, if they have the slightest opportunity for doing so; it is regrettable that we should give them a handle by such foolish theories. . . Tread not such wrong paths but show your valour, your heroism, your self.scrifice, and bravery and win self-government. ~~There~~ If you work hard for it, you will without fail, have self-government. There need be no doubt. If we show our oneness of nationality and aspirations, can our prayer be rejected? Will that not entail a stain on the fame of the British Empire? If they wish for the permanence of the Empire, can they fail to grant it? There need be no doubt. You must

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not failto join existing Home Rule leagues, and establish others. Forgive me for any harshness in my words. I repeatedly beg that you should not be perverse.

For the Week ending the 10th March 1917.

13. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 4th March, observes:-

Non-Brahmans and indentured labour.

"A non-Brahmana has been earning the unexpressed gratitude of NEW INDIA by pointing out that none of those who issued the non-Brahmana Manifesto were present at the Gokhale Hall when a protest was made against the continuance of the indenture system. He writes thus: 'The Brahmana leaders (who formed the major portion of the speakers in yesterday's meeting) are fighting for the rights of the poor non-Brahmana coolies beyond the seas.' We thank the Brahmanas for their help, by word of mouth, although we might here point out that Diwan Bahadur P-Kesava Pillai is the father of this Indian problem--the agitation on behalf of Indians abroad originated with him. He spoke at the Gokhale Hall. And he belongs to the non-Brahmana camp. Of course, Brahmans only remember his repudiation not his reclamation by Rao Bahadur Thyagaraya Chettiyar at the Tondaimandalam Hall.

" And what is the use of talking alone? Non-Brahmans ought to show by action. Combine, collect your money, start industries and arrest the flow of Indian emigrants beyond the seas. That is what we should do. Why should they go to Fiji? Turn to the cantonments--turn to Narasingapuram in Madras city. Let moralists assemble to reclaim fallen humanity here. We have no patience with those who go on talking. We have nothing of admiration for such kind of lip service. Let us take a new turn in politics--action, not talk."

38. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 4th March, remarks:-

Non-Brahmans in the Mysore Public Service.

"The present-day predominance of the Brahman element in all the grades of the Mysore Government Service is due mainly to the fact that the interests of Brahman community were well advanced

during the administration of that state which was since the time of rendition conducted by successive Brahman Diwans from Diwan Rangacharlu downwards to Mr.T.Ananda Rao. . . On account of the selection of a few educated non-Brahmans of good families--who by the way are such a microscopic minority when compared with the vast numbers of uneducated and backward members of their communities--for some Revenue, Judicial and other posts with the view of encouraging those communities in their endeavour to keep pace with the advanced community, a hue and cry has been raised in that State by the members of the Brahman community. They cry out that there is Brahman hatred everywhere, that Brahmans are oppressed and that the policy of encouraging non-Brahmans would diminish the efficiency in the State service. Such disaffected people advocate the institution of competitive examinations for the recruitment in every branch of service, high or low, graded or subordinate. . . No body honestly believes that success in competitive examinations would ensure the existence of all the qualities requisite for good and honest Government service. It was boldly said by a Brahman member of the Local Legislative Council a few months back that the special encouragement of non-Brahman candidates savoured of partiality on behalf of the Government, that Brahmans were particularly fit for intellectual avocations and non-Brahmans were fit for more mechanical and less intellectual occupations and so on. We do not know how long this kind of cant will endure. We do not know who conferred upon the Brahmans this monopoly of intellectual fitness. It may serve the purpose of the Brahmans to hoist such hypocritical theories to serve their own purposes and to keep down the non-Brahmans from rising higher. . . The peculiar fitness of the members of any community for any particular kind of service, Government or otherwise is nothing short of special pleading, If the appointment of a few non-Brahman candidates to certain posts in Government service indicate Brahman-hatred, may it not be said with equal logical force that the appointment of Brahmans for the same or other posts, amounts to hatred of the non-brahmans."

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES ON BRAHMSN v.NON-BRAHMANS.

82. In an article contributed to the SWADESAMITRAN of the 13th February by C.Subramanya Bharati regarding the speech delivered by Sir S.Subrahmanya Ayyar at the opening of the new Sanskrit College at Mylapore, the following observations occur:--The Azhwars came of various castes; and yet Ramanujar ordained that their idols could be kept in temples and worshipped. The Christian Missionaries and their disciples, who wish to mar the principles of Hinduism by telling false tales to the effect that, in ancient days, the Brahmans kept the people belonging to the other castes in a low condition and did harm to them and placed them in a condition of slavery by saying that they were not fit to seek wisdom, do not, perhaps, know that Ramanuja Acharya was a Brahman.

Brahmans and Non-Brahmans.

84. A correspondent to the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 3rd March, says:-- In the creed of the new movement of the Non-Brahmans it was declared with a view to gain the upper hand over the Brahmans, that swaraj is unacceptable for India, that the swaraj league is not to be respected, and that it is the duty of the Non-Brahmans to maintain a journal for the propagation of this idea. From the fact that the Government did not give a reply to the question of the Hon'ble Mr.Krishna Rao Pantulu in the local Legislative Council, it appears that our rulers are determined to nourish these internal differences; under such circumstances, why do they (non-Brahmans) require the help of others?

For the week ending the 17th March 1917.

The Madras Provincial Conference, 1917.

33. JUSTICE, of the 13th March, states.--"We are not surprised to learn that the Cuddalore Congress Committee, acting on the recommendation of a majority of Congress Committees in the Presidency, have elected Mr.V.P.Madhava Rao as President of the next Provincial Conference. After rejecting the Hon'ble Mr.Subarayalu Reddiyar for the Chairmanship of the Reception

Committee, the Brahman members of the said Committee would have been stultifying themselves if they had elected a non-Brahmin like the Hon'ble Mr.Chidambaranatha Mudaliyar or Diwan Bahadur C.Karunakara Menon for the captaincy of the Conference. Elsewhere are given the details of the Brahman drama with its anti non-Brahman catastrophe, and the stroy ought to open the eyes of the non-Brahmans who still fondly believe that they will be respected by Brahmans if they behave submissively to them."

45. [JUSTICE, of the 16th March, states:--"The editor of NEW INDIA is surprised at the policy adopted in connection with Dr.Nayar's lecture of 14th evening, in not sending her an invitation for the meeting. The edior of NEW INDIA was 'accustomed until middle age to the atmosphere of politics in England, where, as a rule, private dislikes are not allowed to prejudice public work.' But we thought that, when the editor of NEW INDIA left England and settled down in India, she gave up the methods of western civilization and adopted the ancient Aryan ideals and the civilization of Aryavarta. What the editor of NEW INDIA was accustomed to until middle age must have got so worn out by frequent changes that we are surprised to see that anything of it remains. . . People who want to boycott others should not expect to receive invitation from the boycotted. 'We have no feeling of hatred against Dr.Nayar. We forgave him years ago' says the editor of NEW INDIA. Dr.Nayar appreciates the magnanimity underlying these words, but still feels that he had done nothing for which he required forgiveness. He tried to get the future editor of NEW INDIA out of the Leadbeater mess. The result was exactly the same as what happened when Nala rescued Karkotaka from a forest fire. Karkotaka after he was rescued bit Nala. That is nothing. Dr.Nayar has forgiven the complainant who dragged him to the Police court. Personal injuries he easily forgives, bad politics never. . . If he has to say harsh words about the editor of NEW INDIA, he says them more in sorrow than in anger. No. It is not hatred but pity

NEW INDIA and Dr.T.M.Nayar.

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that has made him exclaim many a time when some new performance of the editor of NEW INDIA has come into public notice.

Alas! What a noble mind was there!"]

88. The following is the substance of an article reproduced from the SWADESAPARIPALINI and published in the HINDU NESAN of the 23rd February:

The Non-Brahman movement.

We hear that the Non-Brahman movement is being carried on in Madras with extraordinary vigour. Though, indeed, it is our ambition that Non-Brahmans should advance to eminence, they will receive our support, if they desist from speaking ill of the other classes, and refrain from interfering with the political rights which the whole of India demands. We will venture to say that animosities and jealousies alone have brought India to its abject condition and proved to be its curse. Our country has begun to advance under the British rule. We have obtained several rights till now, and shall obtain more. Good days have dawned upon us and we shall see happy signs. Can we not, at least now, wash our dirty linen within our own house, instead of doing it publicly in the open street? Why should we give room in our present civilized condition to feelings of jealousy which we did not possess in ancient times? Caste distinction alone is the cause of all these dissensions. Indeed, our opinion is that India's welfare is possible, only if this distinction is entirely rooted out.

The following appears in the LOKOPAKARI, of the 26th February:

The Non-Brahman.

--The clamour raised by the Non-Brahmans has perhaps subsided. But, some persons, who stood out as their representatives, have sought the means required for the retrogression of our country, and it has proved useful to the Government also. Oh Non-Brahman representatives! Open your eyes now at least

For the week ending the 24th March 1917.

23. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 18th March, observes:

The Madras Provincial Conference, 1917.

"After the exposure that comes from Cuddalore, we should call every non-Brahman who attends the Madras Provincial Conference a traitor to our cause. After all there will be black sheep in every fold; it should be easy for the Conference to get at a few Kesava Pillais who are above caste and have patience enough to forget every kick and remember only the smiles. We hope to publish the list of names of those present xat the Conference from which we can judge what importance is to be attached to the Brahman Conference. . . In the midst of nine Brahmans we have a solitary Muhammadan. We do not know who this Khan Sahib Muhammad Razak Marakkayar is, but he will welcome Mr.V.P.Madhava Rao who, as President of the Hindu Conference, was against Moslems. But Mr.Marakkayar, we suppose, is there only to pay money."

25. The following appears in the NON-BRAHMAN for the week ending 18th March:--"The scandal of the Dharmarakshana Sabha must be suppressed. Our forefathers built temples and the Brahmans are enjoying at our cost! This is simply heart-rending, and a petty Brahman being placed over the Raja of Kalahasti in a historic temple must be the signal for a general move to drive the Brahmans and break the Brahman combine!"

The Dharmarakshana Sabha

For the week ending the 31st March 1917.

28. Writing on this subject (Madras Provincial Civil Service), JUSTICE, of the 28th March, says:--"The announcementsx of the appointment of Diwan Bahadur R.Ramachandra Rao, Collector of Nellore, to succeed Diwan Bahadur P.Rajagopala Achariyar as Home Secretary to the Madras Government practically completes the Brahminisation of the Madras Government. The Brahmans are indebted to Lord Pentland for this process which must be so very gladdening to their hearts.

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Since Lord Pentland b came Governor of this Presidency, he has appointed three Brahman gentlemen as High Court Judges, one as a member of the Executive Council, two in successsion, as Home Secretary to the Madras Government and one as Advocate-General to the Government of Madras; and after four and a half years of carefully chosen appointments, the present position of the higher branches of Government service open to Indians stands thus:

Four Brahman High Court Judges,
One Brahman Advocate-General,
One Brahman Government Pleader,
One Brahman member of the Executive Council,
One Brahman Home Secretary,
One Brahman Secretary to the Board of Revenue,
One Brahman Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras.

If you want to see a Non-Brahman high up in the Government service you have to search for him among the district officers with perhaps the solitary exception of the Registrar of Co-Operative Societies. The Non-Brahman communities have not much to be thankful for, and they must consider that a series of such appointments was an unfriendly act on the part of Lord Pentland towards them. . . In a country where there are different communities, separated from each other by centuries of differences and conflicting interests, is it wise statesmanship to centralise all political power and influence in any one particular community to the exclusion of others? Would not such a procedure create a condition of unstable equilibrium which would spell political disaster? . . . The time will come sooner or later when the Government of India and the British statesmen who control Indian administration from Whitehall have to settle these questions, and we can assure our Non-Brahman friends in this Presidency that, when that time comes, their side of the case will not be dismissed for default. . . Provincial Governors and other administrators in this country are but human beings, and it is excusable if they display the human weakness of siding with the more articulate portion of the people under them. But such individual

actions are not to be taken as part of the policy of British rule in this country, and therefore we attaach no importance to the action of individual administrators in supporting almost exclusivel y the members of one community in the choice of occupants for high official places. . . It is true that a poligy like that of Lord Pentland will add more recruits to the Home Rule movement; but we are helpless to alter that poliky. We can only wait and hope that our appeal to the British statesmen and to the British public will result in the establishment of a wxx wiser policy of equal treatment for all communities under British Rule. . . We see no object in bothering Lord Pentland to alter his policy at the last moment, for His Lordship has only a few months more to remain in this country as Governor of this Presidency. Let him follow his own inclinations and concentrate political power wherever he will. When the time comes for us to place these matters before higher authorities, these very same appointments may serve to illustrate the dangers of provincial Governors being allowed to drift without a settled policy. In other words, as the temperance lecturer exhibbited the servant girl, these may serve as 'horrid examples'. We see that a few crumbs have been thrown to the Non-Brahmans, and we also notice the Brahmanical growl at even these little things being thrown out to men outside their own sacred clique. If xxxx there are any Non-Brahmans who indulge in the hope that they would get on amicably with the Brahmans, we would advise them to read a note in yesterday's HINDU about the appointment of a successor to Mr.R.Ramachandra Rao. No, there is no compromise possible with such men. It is a question of a fight to the finish--a fight for bare social justice."

JUSTICE, of the 29th March, remarks:--"Under the heading "Brahmans in office", our contemporary, the MADRAS TIMES, this morning draws attention to the old Brahmanical chestxnut, that Brahmans get high appointments because they are better qualified for them than others. . . Why We deny that in every case where a Brahman is appointed to a high post he was the best man available for the post. There are many good Non-Brahmans who would any day

make as good officials as any Brahman who is now holding high office. Perhaps the existence of such Non-Brahmans has not been advertised widely enough. This is an age of advertisement, and the best advertised article gets the widest sale irrespective of its quality. The Brahmans have discovered a new method of co-operative advertising which has stood them in good stead. The Non-Brahmans have not adopted that method, and we do not advise them to adopt that method either. We appreciate our contemporary's good intentions in advising the Non-Brahmans to better their abilities. For that matter, we would give the same advice ~~thexsame~~ to ourselves. But when the rank and file of the Non-Brahmans see that able members of their community ~~xf x~~ are passed over for inferior but better advertised Brahmans, it is difficult to make them follow our contemporary's advice.

"An esteemed correspondent, who signs himself 'Commonsense' writes on the verdict of the MADRAS TIMES on the Non-Brahmans. The Non-Brahmans will, of course, survive this verdict. If the MADRAS TIMES is so cocksure about the ability of Brahmans and if Government appointments are to be conferred on the principle which it lays down, what stands in the way of examinations for entrance into the Civil Service being held in India,--why, indeed, should Englishmen be brought down to India at all to hold high appointments? We do not want to go into details as it might be unpleasant. It will take a long time indeed before those who are responsible for the ~~Govt~~ Government of this country would consent to hand over all the exalted places in India from the Viceroyalty downwards to Indians who top the list in competitive examinations. If it is all a question of mere intellectual cleverness, why should the Indian be passed over in preference to the Englishman for 'the unreasonable reason' that he is an Indian? The argument about the Scotchman, the Welshman and the Englishman is too transparently fallacious to be noticed. There is absolutely no point of comparison between what obtains in Great Britain at the present moment and what exists in India among the various Indian communities. The myth about the superiority of the Brahman intellect to the Non-Brahman intellect is a myth and nothing more. If in proportion to their numerical strength

the Non-Brahmans have not availed themselves of English education, the reason is not far to seek. They have been for centuries the real producers, the lords of the soil and traders, and they cannot all of them leave their ancient callings. But the Brahman has practically nothing to do but to prepare for examinations, and so the percentage of English educated men among the Brahmans is larger. If this is the real test of administrative ability it is a very bad test indeed."

[For the week ending the 7th April 1917.

NEW INDIA and the Non-Brahman movement.

24. JUSTICE, of the 3rd April, remarks:--"The following sentence is from yesterday's issue of NEW INDIA: 'But the movement led by Rao Bahadur Thyagaraya Chetti has split the Hindu community in two, and he is carrying on a Crusade of Hate against the Brahmanas who would have been invaluable helpers to him, THEY BEING THE ONE CLASS THAT THE BUREAUCRACY FEARS.' Rao Bahadur Thyagaraya Chettiyar is not carrying on a Crusade of Hate against anybody. He and his colleagues have been working to get justice done to the Non-Brahmans of Madras and to restore them to their old place of power and prestige in the country, and no amount of vilification, calumny and abuse will deter them from following their path of duty. Mrs.Besant says that the Bureaucracy fears the Brahmans and Mrs.Besant as a leader of the Brahmans ought to know. But the Bureaucracy is not responsible for the Indian fiscal policy, and indeed the Bureaucracy is on the side of India on this question. We may also assure Mrs.Besant that though the Bureaucracy, as she says, fears the Brahmans, the Non-Brahmans as a class are not afraid of the Brahmans."]

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For the week ending 7th April 1917

No. 14 of 1917.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

112. The LOKAPRAKASAM, of the 2nd April, has the following in English:--"The appointments consequent upon the legitimate elevation of the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P.Rajagopala Achariyar to the Executive Council of Fort St.George have at last been authoritatively announced, and we congratulate the Government of Lord Pentland for having recommended to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State the appointment of Diwan Bahadur P.Ramachandra Rao as Secretary to the Home Department. It is a deserving recognition of his remarkable talents and character, and except among members of Civil Service, who appear to have felt that the post was one in their close preserve, the announcement must create universal satisfaction. Mr.Raw's sympathies, especially for the depressed classes are too well known to need recapitulation here, and instead of congratulating the Government for having secured the services of so capable an officer to fill up that responsible office as to satisfy the generality of the Indian public, we are surprised to see our new contemporary of the Second Line Beach, complaining in its usual way of the predominance of Brahmans in official appointments. The following is the interesting extract of the JUSTICE:--

Government service and Indians

The announcement of the appointment of Diwan Bahadur R.Ramachandra Rao, Collector of Nellore, to succeed Diwan Bahadur P.Rajagopala Achariyar as Home Secretary to the Madras Government practically completes the brahminisation of the Madras Government. The Brahmans are indebted to Lord Pentland for this process which must be so very gladdening to their hearts. Since Lord Pentland became Governor of this Presidency he has appointed three Brahman ~~are indebted to Lor~~ gentlemen as High Court Judges, one as a Member of the

Executive Council, two in succession as Home Secretary to the Madras Government and one as Advocate-General to the Government of Madras; and after four and a half years of carefully chosen appointments, the present position of the higher branches of Government services open to Indians stand thus?

Four Brahman High Court Judges, one Brahman Advocate-General one Brahman Government Pleader, one Brahman Member of the Executive Council, one Brahman Home Secretary, one Brahman Secretary to the Board of Revenue, one Brahman Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras.

If you want to see a non-Brahman high up in the Government service you have to search for him among the District officers with, perhaps, the solitary exception of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies.

"There is no use quarrelling against the large numbers of Brahmans in office. Every right-thinking and honest man will, and must, admit that it is a remarkable testimony to the Brahman intellect and ability, and not due to any pro-Brahman sympathy. The solitary fact of one being a Brahman does not in any way qualify him for a particular appointment, and it is a pity that when appointments have to be made the claims of men best qualified and fitted for them are at times passed over. Our administrative machinery cannot be worked on the published lines of 'non-Brahmans preferred', and our non-Brahman brethren, instead of giving vent to their heart-burning or clamour against Brahmans in office, will do a great piece of service to themselves and their country, by bettering their abilities so as to outbeat every Brahman and seeing that one of them is the best available for any and every appointment that may have to be made from time to time.

"The appointment of Khan Bahadur Oosman Sahib, a junior, as Collector over the head of Rao Bahadur T-Raghaviah, the senior officer in the Provincial Civil Service, in succession to Mr.Rao has produced a deal of discontent in many quarters, as he was once before appointed to act--though not actually took charge for want of berth--as Collector of Nellore.

Mr.Raghaviah's loyal and meritorious services to Government are well known and the recent supersession of his claims must have a chilling effect on the energy and zeal of a goodly number of Indian members of the service. Khan Bahadur Aziz-ud-din Sahib is the first Indian to be appointed as Collector of Madras, and it is a sort of recognition of his rare abilities and experience. It was expected that this sympathetic Muhammadan Collector would be translated to the Board of Revenue in succession to the Hon'ble Mr.L.E. Buckely who was to have gone on leave. Even as Collector, his sphere of usefulness at Madras is great; and we are sure the Khan Bahadur will, as in the first, fulfil the public expectations."

For the week ending the 14th April 1917.

Brahman aggression.

21. In a leader under this heading, the NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 8th April, says:--"We are inclined to view, with considerable alarm and misgiving, the dangerous Brahman aggressiveness against the Non-Brahman upheaval. Mrs. Besant and Mr.Kasturiranga Ayyangar are jontly devoting their respective organs for discouraging our movement. . . When an Honourable Member of the Council comes up to the Legislative Chamber and asks whether JUSTICE is being subsidised, he shows himself a moral wreck, without any sense of responsibility or decency. For a respectable newspaper to be mentioned with a Government sibsidy is at least as scandalous as mentioning a chaste woman with adultery. . . An unknown nobody is not behind JUSTICE. It represents a cause, a community, and we are shocked at this picture of Brahman aggression that would forget common decency in life when its interests are affected."

The Non-Brahman movement.

28. NEW INDIA, of the 11th April, has the following:--"Madras stands alone in India in trying to disintegrate Hindu society so as to render it useless to the national cause, and to deprive it of the glory of taking part in the great struggle which will make India the mistress of her own resources, thus reviving her industries, increasing her food supply, and enabling the submerged classes to rise into happier life. . . In Madras only, and almost entirely in the city alone, is caste prejudice fanned into flame in political, social and educational life, and the Crusade of Hate is vehemently preached. With what object? For the Crusade is planned and guided not by leaders of any oppressed community, but by the rich, the prosperous and the highly placed."

For the week ending the 21st April 1917

7. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 15th April, remarks:-

Caste distinction in Calicut

"It seems that after all Mrs. Besant is a real prophet, for she said that the bureaucrats are afraid of the Brahmans, and she is right. The Brahmansx of Calicut have made the Malabxar Congress Committee a Home Rule body, and invited Mr.C,P,Ramaswami Ayyar to preside over the Malabar Conference. The bureaucrats are thus all the more afraid of them. And when they asked that the Tiyyas--the class of people who are shedding their blood for the King--should not be allowed on the King's highway, for the Brahmans say that the Tiyyas belong to the depressed classes, and thus their very approach is pollution! And so instead of the Brahmans trying to protect his soul by flying away from the approach of the Tiyya, the Tiyya is asked to keep out. The Brahmans express the wish and the bureaucrats carries it out. And to-day, the Thali Road in Calicut is closed to the Thiyyas, and His Majesty's Police is posted there to see to it!

"Well it is for the Thiyyas to be up and doing. They might petition to the Government--in vain. Every caste that treats the Thiyya with contempt must be treated with equal contempt by the Thiyyas, and the next time a Brahmanx is seen near a Thiyya temple cry xout and ask the Policeman to march the polluting Brahmanx out of reach of temple. This is a challenge to the self-respect of the community from the Brahmin and the Government, and if the community will not take it up, why it must go down as depressed classes. Let the telegrams fly about, let Thiyyas in Government service apply for leave and let a hundred of them, influential and high, go to Mr.Gillman at Ootacamund and say that this scandal shall cease. Do not take these insults lying down. The Government ought not to be guilty of setting up one class against another."

9. [The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 15th April, writes:-

The South Indian Peoples' Association.

"Now that our leaders have combined and the South Indian Peoples' Association is formed, we demand a programme of work. JUSTICE is doing its grand work, and while Dr.Nayar is engaged in driving off the enemy, we ask for constructive statesmanship. Those who think that having paid for their share to the JUSTICE Printing Works they have done their duty by the Non-Brahman movement are mistaken, and we have no hesitation to say that they deserve to be trampled under foot by Brahmans. . . The greatest demand for our community at the present time, is a Commercial and ~~the pres~~ an Industrial University.] We have not been able to take full advantage of the present soulless system of education. After all, in spite of centuries of depression, we still carry the martial spirit in us that rebels against ~~the~~ crams and mocks at the worthless examinations of the Madras University. . . We have not been able to produce as many graduates as the Brahmans, but we have enough, as it is, to fill the place of every Brahman usurper. ~~For majority of offices~~ For we make the majority of the population and so we claim, as by right, the majority of offices. And we positively rebel against the bureaucrat's superstition that only those who have passed their examinations can do the work in the office. We do not want any one of us who only knows to read and write English to be appointed District Medical Officer or an Executive Engineer. That requires special qualification and training. But pick from among us youths of high character and put them to be trained as Revenue Inspectors or Tahsildars or Deputy Collectors--in fact anything which does not require scientific knowledge. . . Let us remember that the Government is after all human, that the Anglo-Indians are depending upon Brahmans, and that, however sympathetic they might be towards us, they are helplessly in the hands of our enemies. By their conduct towards our movement the Brahmans have shown themselves our enemies. We cannot expect any generous concessions from the

Government. We must be prepared to attack it and even more vigorously than Mrs.Besant, if we do not get justice that it is in the power of the Government to give. . . We see around us half educated youths sinking into the gutter as type writing clerks or tram-car mechanics who can earn a hundred rupees a month by striking the hammer with their sinewy hands on iron or steel."

10. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 15th April, observes:

Non-Brahmans and politics.

"We must admire, after all, the intellectual shrewdness of the Brahman, for by a wonderful combine, systematic vilification and incessant writings, they have spread the idea that the Non-Brahmans are against progressive movements, that the leaders of our community are entirely in the hands of the Government, that the JUSTICE and the NON-BRAHMAN are subsidised or are helped by the bureaucrats. Do we attack Mrs.Besant and Home Rule? Why, we must be paid by Sir Alexander Cardew, in spite of his assurance that there is no mystery about the newspaper subsidies. Does JUSTICE protest against the nineteen member memorandum? Why, it is subsidised, for the Government is very much interested in showing that the memorandum has not t the approval of the people behind it; What Raj Khuspal Singh is doing in the United Provinces, the Non-Brahmans are doing in Madras. A Raja is put down as a flunky who can only sing the praise of the Government and do nothing else. The Raja of Kuruppam writes against Home Rule. Why? He must be trying to please the Government and, if possible, to get a C.I.E. as his brother of Kollengode! Every one who does not ask for self-government today is paid by the Government. He is a traitor to the cause of the country, an anti-Indian, an obstacle to progress. . . We think it, therefore, our duty to point out that our goal is self-government as much as it is of congress leaders. We want Home Rule as badly as anyone else--not even Mrs.Besant excepted, but we want to be sure that there is real Home Rule and not Brahman Rule. We are against Executive Council

members ~~xxxxxx~~ being elected, as suggested by the nineteen member memorandum, simply because, in such elections, a Karunakara Menon or a Dr.Nayar will have ~~xxxx~~ no chance as against a Srinivasa Sastri or Mr.B.N.Sarma. . . When, stung by Brahman selfishness, we say that we prefer Europeans to Brahmans we do not mean it. We say that in anger. Our enemies are misrepresenting us. Let no one be misled because Mrs.Annie Besant, aided by a well-known Non-Brahman, is attacking the Non-Brahman movement as political retrogression. It is a lie."

NEW INDIA and the Non-Brahman movement.

25. JUSTICE, of the 19th April, has the following:--"We take the following from yesterday's issue of NEW INDIA: 'The anti-Brhamana movement preaching the Crusade of Hate is mischievous and deplorable, and is essentially foreign in spirit, not Indian.' We know more about what is Indian than Mrs.Besant. We have not renounced our country, and we never will, and we haxve no respect for those who renounce their own, their native land. Nor do we preach a Crusade of Hate against anybody. We have been endeavouring to promote the interests of the great community to which we are proud to belong. But it is not strange that Mrs.Besant should talk about Crusade of Hate. She has been doing her best somewhat in that line against her own countrymen in India and against others like us who are doing what we can to improve the lot of the bulk of the population of this Presidency and make them live a higher and nobler life in every sphere of human activity."

"Mrs. Besant talks in very superior style about 'wasting time in childish personalities which appeal only to the vulgar-minded.' Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones. Who is really vulgar-minded? We ask Mrs.Besant to turn the search-light inwards. To take an instance, what did she say about the Nayars of the West Coast, because Sir Sankaran Nayar could now swallow her scheme for a Hindu University? Does she really think that the intelligent public have forgotten all about the last

unsavoury controversy in which she figured. . . . We may assure xxxx her that the Non-Brahman communities which are trying to improve their own position in their own way without, we repeat, provoking any feeling of hostility or hate towards any other community, Indian or non-Indian, will never accept her as their leader. They have self-respect enough not to do that, and Mrs.Besant may also rest assured that her attempts to create mischief among us are doomed to failure."

JUSTICE and the Brahmans.

83. The MAHAVIKATADUTAN, of the 14th April, observes as follows regarding the attitude of the Brahmans towards the newly-started paper called JUSTICE:--The Brahmans are bitterly hostile to this paper. As it hampers their doing things as they like, they think that its influence is due to Government rendering pecuniary assistance to it; and five honourable Brahman members of the Legislative Council put an interpellation as to how many papers the Government were subsidising and whether they were rendering any pecuniary aid to JUSTICE. The reply of the Government to this was that some papers had to be purchased by the Government, and that no pecuniary aid was given to any paper. A similar question was asked also at the meeting of the Council held in February last. As a matter of fact, the Government do not seem to be rendering any special assistance to Justice. So the motive for the interpellation of the five members is nothing more than the feeling that this paper, which controverts every statement of theirs, should not thrive. Do you see the trick of the Brahmans? The saying of the old poetess that "Deception and strife will end in trouble" will not go in vain. "A barber, having no work shaved the head of the cat", also goes the saying.

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19. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 22nd April, observes:-

The Non-Brahman movement.

"NEW INDIA has been using systematic violence against the Non-Brahman movement, often not hesitating to descend to vulgar personalities and political arguments as wonderful as some theosophical beliefs and Leadbeater theories. If JUSTCE criticises Mr.Srinivasa Sastri, it is anti-Brahman. If the Non-Brahmans are against what the Brahmans call political progress, ~~it is not because the against what the Brahmans cal political progress, it is~~ it is not because the Non-Brahmans have any considered opinion on the subject, but simply because they are anti-Brahmans. If we analyse the various departments of State and point out that there is no proper proportion of communities in the Public Services, why it is because we are anti-Brahmans. This is the cry of our enemies, and it is so systematically raised that unless we are on the alert, this campaign of falsehood, led by the President of the Theosophical Society, will have serious consequences. . . . The Brahmans, Mrs.Besant tells us, are always at the top. They are the most advanced. They stand with extended hands and the boon of self-government will fall into their hands. When Non-Brahmans raise their voice, it is treason, set up by Sir Alexander Cardew or Mr. Gillman or Mr.Bryant. . . . It is downright falsehood to say that ours is a movement of hatred. We want the help of the Brahmans as the advanced class and we have got it. Men like Mr. Srinivasa Ayyangar and Mr.Ranga Achari do sympathise with our efforts to raise ourselves. It is narrow-minded wretches that abuse Dr.Nayar, that make us return word for word. And then the liar comes with the lie; 'Lo, they abust the Brahmans. It is a movement of hate.' . . . We refer to this false cry because we are yet in our infancy. We have to deal with past masters. They are out to discourage us, to wreck our movement. We should not lose heart; we must feel nerved by transparent falsehoods to persistent action. We are honest folk, and we must get accustomed to the unrealities and humbugs of public life and so-called public workers. We know our goal. Let us march

straight on and only say to the enemies of our progress: 'Get thee behind me, Satan'."

21. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 22nd April, writes:-

Representation in the Public Services.

"Analysis of important departments show the striking disparity between Brahmans and Non-Brahmans. A majority of the well-paid appointments always fall to the Brahmans. No one had cared hitherto to ask why. . . We have now seen how every department of Government is manned and overmanned by Brahmans. We ask why. And we expect an answer from the Government. . . We ask the Government of Madras to at once lay down the rule that hereafter EVERY APPOINTMENT SHALL BE GIVEN ONLY TO NON-BRAHMANS until we have gained that proportion in the Government service which, by reason of our number we deserve. We do not, of course, want that Brahmans already in the service should be dismissed to make way for us. . . We have seen the preponderance of one caste. The Government knows that this preponderance has given rise to acute feeling in the minds of the Non-Brahmans. Despite what Mrs. Besant is daily writing, the Government knows that it is not anti-Brahmanism, but self-preservation that is at the bottom. We protest against an invasion of Brahmans in Government service, not because we hate them, but because we want our own 'place under the sun.' . . We deny that the Brahman is essential to maintain the efficiency of the work. We are prepared to concede that the British spirit is necessary until such time that we have learnt to conquer the prejudicies and passions of a subject race. But we do not concede that the Brahman spirit is necessary. It lies with the Government to rally a great community to it. by issuing an order that every future appointment shall be given to Non-Brahmans until the analysis of departmental figures shows that the Non-Brahmans have ninety-five percent on the appointments.

"If the Government would not move, it is plain that they are either unwilling or afraid to remove an injustice. . . We ask the Government in all seriousness what it proposes to do Lord Chelmsford has said his say. What does Lord Pentland propose to do?

If the Government is afraid of the Brahmans--as the Brahmans claim--we shall pity them, but shall promise to send half a dozen Non-Brahman youthsx to keep guard over the houses of Sir Alexander Cardew, Mr.Gillman and Diwan Bahadur Rajagopala Achariyar. Thanks to the martial spirit that is in us still, one Non-Brahman can keep back by the mere roll of his eye or the elevation of his voice at least a hundred Brahmans. There is no cause for fear. But if, as it is suspected, the European officers are enjoying a perpetual holiday, making the Brahmans do all the work--and the Brahman unlike the Non-Brahman, is ready to do any work--then we do not expect any action from the Government. . . We ask the Government of Madras whether they propose to issue a rule that every appointment shall go to a Non-Brahman until the caste proportion is maintained in service. If they would tell cock-~~xxx~~and-bull stories about efficiency, why, we must consider the Governxment as in alliance with Brahmans and readjust ourselves. We now think the Government is a friend of the backward classes. If it is now a friend, it must be a foe--the Non-Brahmans have too much character to put up with the individual who is neither a friend nor a foe, but is both according to circumstances."

78. The LOKOPAKARI, of the 23rd April, writes:--There is a rumour that there is now a split between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans in this presidency. This is a false rumour. Some non-Brahmans of Madras, with a view to vent their ill-feeling against some Brahmans, pose to be the representatives of the non-Brahman community and vilify the Brahmans on the platform and in the press. It is well known that this movement has not received the support of the non-Brahmans. Moreover, these are making mighty efforts to mar the union between Brahmans and non-Brahmans. The Government will pay attention to our grievances and move in the matter of redressing them, only if the Hindus, who are divided enough by caste, religion and language, unite in the interests of the country. If we quarrel among ourselves, with-

The aplit between Brahmans and non-Brahmans.

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out having union among us, the Government will not attend to our wants and will neglect us. We are ourselves responsible for our rise or fall. So we should stand together, without daring for the petty differences among us and work hard for advancing our country.

[For the week ending the 5th May 1917.

8. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 29th April writes:--

The Malabar District Conference

"In his address at the Malabar District Conference Mr.C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar made the following reference to the Non-Brahman Movement: 'I do not hesitate to disxxagree entirely from the methods of criticism adopted, and the lines on which the new Movement is progressing.' . . From Mr.C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar who is one of the few Brahmans whom we admire and whom we have held up as an example to our community, we expected a more reasoned reference to us. When Mr.Ramaswami Ayyar says what our Movement ought to be, he is unconsciously arguing himself in our favour. Our Movement ought, xxxxx he says, to be educational. Well, what about the Pachayappa College? It has slipped into Brahman hands; it exists for Brahmans, (x) are educationally backward. Let us take the temples. An organisation called the Dharma Rakshana Sabha--a Brahman clique--is busy placing beggarly xx Brahman clerks over the heads of Rajas whose forefathers built the temples. A Non-Brahman movement, according to Mr.Ramaswami Ayyar must take the form of the Cunnan Chetti Sanskrit College--Samskrit, as the revered leader of Mr.Ramaswami Ayyar would say--which would feed Brahmans. We do not want to waste our money thus. We want first of all to shake ourselves from the selfish net which the Brahmans have thrown over us. Our Movement is one of liberation from those whom we trusted and who have betrayed us. . . The Non-Brahmans trusted the Brahmans. They looked to them with respect, almost with the reverence with which Mr.C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar looks upon Mrs.Besant. The Brahman was needed for everything--from birth

to death. To feed a Brahman was the direct way to heaven, to help a Brahman was to please God. This was religion, and there was nothing dearer to the Hindu than religion. Whatever Mr.Pasupathy Dikshadar or Anganapady Sastri might say about Divine origin of Brahmans, Mr.C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar, as a practical man, must acknowledge that the Brahman was shown this consideration because he was expected to be a selfless public worker, watching for the progress of the community. . . If the Brahman was protected, it was because the Brahman began to look after himself. He was the first to plunge into the material life of the West, leaving the Kshatriya and the Vaishyas and the Sudras to take care of VARNASHRAMA DARMA. . . The Non-Brahman Movement, thus, has come because the Brahmans betrayed their trust. Mr.Dhandapani Ayyar may indulge in jobbery in Madras Corporation appointments; but we expected Mr.C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar to approach the question with more responsibility. . . We ask Mr.C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar in all seriousness whether he believes that men like Dr.Nayar, Mr. Thyagaraya Chettiyar, Mr.Subbarayalu Reddiyar, the Zamindar, of Chunampet, Mr.Ramarayaningar, Rao Sahib M.C.Muthu Chettiyar, and the rest are irresponsible Brahman-haters, discontented politicians, selfish seekers for their own advance. . . The Non-Brahman Movement has come to stay, and abuse and hatred poured upon it will be like pouring oil on the flames. We are, however, sincerely sorry that a rising leader like Mr.Ramaswami Ayyar had not a word to say in sympathy with it. So long as we have men like Mr.Narasimha Ayyar in local self-government ~~xxxx xxxxxxxxxxx~~ and Mr.Dhandapani Ayyar in offices, the Non-Brahman Movement will obtain vigour. We are a military race. We want fight, and woe unto those who come against us.] Abuse us and abuse is returned. Love us and we give our lives. If only Mr.Ramaswami Ayyar had said: 'Let us not belittle the movement. Let us search our hearts. Let us take warning that our conduct has not won us the confidence of the masses. We shall never deserve self-government unless we are trusted by the lowest as well as by the highest.' What a brilliant call would it have

been to the Brahmans? And much more value would have been attached by us to Mr.Ramaswami Ayyar's views on education than at present when he approaches the question in a partisan spirit. As it is, he has only added his yell to the one hundred and one jackals that yell around Mr.Thyagaraya Chettiyar's residence at Tondiarpet."

10. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 29th April states:-

The Government and the Non-Brahman movement.

"The Non-Brahman movement, in the opinion of the Besant-Ramaswami Ayyar combination might be inspired by Sir Alexander Cardew and Mr.Bryant, for the express purpose of abusing Mrs. Besant, for the Government of India are at present more concerned, she thinks, with herself than with the war. The monopoly of loving the country belongs to those people who ask for self-government to-day, who call Sir Alexander Cardew impertinent or quote newspaper abuse of His Excellency Lord Pentland, not to those who support the Non-Brahman movement and write against Brahman oppression. We do not expect the Besant-Ramaswami Ayyar combination to acknowledge the necessity for the Non-Brahman movement, unless it were a non-political movement--for who can talk of politics except they?. . . We deal with Mr.Ramaswami Ayyar's speeches elsewhere. We did not ~~expect to~~ know that he was so deeply and blindly immersed in Besantism. We have respect for his courageous advocacy of Home Rule, spurning official favours and deliberately flinging himself into dangerous opposition. We have held him up as a model for self-sacrifice and patriotism. But when he indulges in patronising advice and blind abuse of the Non-Brahman movement, without caring to study the question, he only steels our mind."

For the week ending 12th May 1917.

The Non-Brahman movement.

21. The WEST COAST SPECTATOR, of the 5th May, writes:--"The Non-Brahman movement is a good movement so long as it aims at elevating the Non-Brahmans and levelling the difference between them and the Brahmans, but when it takes up a militant aspect and works directly against national interests, it becomes dangerous and insidious and the sooner it is destroyed, the better.

"If the Non-Brahman movement tries to get fat on falsehoods sedulously invented, if it cries down the ostracises leaders who try to create and ENTEN TE to the best of their ability and prevents the Non-Brahman from amicably settling his disputes with the Brahman, it must perish. Let us ask in all earnestness what the Non-Brahman organisation has so far done to elevate the Non-Brahman to safeguard his interests and to develop his self-respect? By destructing criticism? We have great regard for the Non-Brahman communities whom we humbly try to serve to the best of our ability. And that is why we are anxious that the spirit of compromise should prevail. If the Brahmans refuse to abide by it, then we have every reason to strike out a path for ourselves and subscribe to an aggressive propaganda."

Mrs.Besant and the Non-Brahman.

22. The NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 6th May, has the following:--"We publish elsewhere a correspondent's challenge to NEW INDIA and Mrs.Besant's reply. We do not like to repeat what we have said. It is impossible to argue with an obstinate woman, and if she is mad to boot, we must give it up. If the Non-Brahman movement has come to be known as an anti-Home Rule movement, Mrs. Besant has to thank hereself. Who oppose the Non-Brahman to-day? It is she. She accuses us of abusing Congress leaders? And who are our leaders? Mrs.Besant will place herself first, and Mr.Srinivasa Sastri is a leader who has made sacrifices. And Mr.Yakub Hussain who stinks in the nostrills of our readers along with Mr.Srinivasa Sastri, is also a leader. When these people strike us and we strike them

back with vigour, an enraged mother shrieks curses. By throwing herself into the Brahman camp and by attacking us incessantly--the convert is always the more bigotted--she has set a whole community against her and while she may yet attain martyrdom by violent abuse of Government, she is most certainly destroying the excellent Home Rule movement for the sake of self-advertisement."]

141. In the course of a leading article, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4th May, writes:---

Brahmans and Non-Brahmans.

We revert to this subject of the Non-Brahman movement, because Mrs.Besant writes in her NEW INDIA, that the Non-Brahmans were trying to prevent the holding of the recent Malabar Conference. If this be true, it is doubtless a most regrettable circumstance. Further, we find that half of the presidential address of Mr.C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar has been devoted to the Brahman-Non-Brahman controversy and to criticism regarding the JUSTICE which has been organised with the avowed object of upholding the cause of the Non-Brahmans. Since the raising of this controversy by Dr.Nayar and the starting of the JUSTICE, this has become a burning topic of the day in this Presidency, and there are indications in the Madras Press and the TIMES OF INDIA that the movement is spreading in the Bombay Presidency as well. It is most surprising that it should extend so fast. Fortunately the infection has not spread to our district (South Kanara). But then, it is pertinent to ask whether we have among us the Home Rule movement against which this Non-Brahman movement is designed. The fact that there are a few Home Rule members among us does not warrant our saying that the movement is present in our district. We have neither the one nor the other. We dwell on this subject now only because it is one of the great public interest at present. We called it the new movement, because there have been many similar movements in the past. About three or four years after the Congress came into being, the Hindu-Moslem differences arose and continued until recently. Further, whatever be the reform which the educated public asked for through the

Congress or other public body, we always used to be told by the authorities that the educated public asked for the reform in pure self-interest and that the masses never wanted it. There, thus used to be created a huge gap between the educated and the uneducated. Even among the former, there used to be several parties, such as moderates, extremists, etc. There was thus, disunion throughout. With the gradual spread of enlightenment among the people, all classes equally began to understand the nature of the administrative policy of those who held the reins of the Government in their hands. The differences disappeared as, of course, they were bound to. At the last session of the Congress, Hindus, Moslems and Parsis, moderates and extremists, educated and uneducated all joined to demand Home Rule which is the key to national progress. This meant the discomfiture of some Anglo-Indians. Their minds began to be busy again as to what new means they should pursue for carrying out their policy of "divide and rule." The Anglo-Indian has a fertile brain, and thus immediately arose the Brahman--Non-Brahman controversy. Let us see what the movement means. If national interests be its true object, we too may follow it. If, on the other hand, the movement is found to be inimical to national interests, the non-Brahmans might give it up. Their contention is that in the event of Home Rule, the Brahmans who are predominant in every quarter, will keep the non-Brahmans down-trodden and that Home Rule will mean only a revival of the Brahman supremacy of the days of Manu, or of the administrative policy of the days of the Peshawas; or, in other words, Home Rule will mean Brahman Rule. In urging the above argument what is the amount of abuse, vilification and accusations hurled against the Brahmans by papers of the type of the JUSTICE! When party feeling and conflict of interest arise, then recriminations of this kind are sure to arise.. The present movement can be no exception to the rule. It is surprising, however, that the non-Brahmans should entertain the notion that in case the Government should be so kind as to grant Home Rule, the Brahmans alone will reap the benefit thereof.

It is xfor all classes and communities, including the untouchables, permanently resident in India that Home Rule is demanded. It is therefore most undesirable that any Indian, either by himself or under the extraneous influence, should reamain blind to this fact and throw obstacles in the path of the Home Rule movement. Indian SWARAJ is to be on democratic lines. Despite the abuse xxx hurled at the Brahmans today as a result of hatred, every dispassionate critic has to confess that if the national spirit is still in existence in India today it is because of the superior intellect of the Brahmans. As we observed in a previous issue, those who have all along been urging the system of compulsory education for the benefit of the non-Brahmans are Brahmans. Last year it was the Brahman who urged from the Congress platform that so long as self-government was gained, it did not matter even if it was granted to the Pariahs. The argument that the Brahmans ask for Home Rule in self-interest is therefore untenable. It is analogous to a patient's belief that his doctor treats him for his own gain. The bureaucracy alone will derive strength from the hostile attitude of the non-Brahmans. Not that India will be granted SWARAJ the at movement the Brahmans, the non-Brahmans and all unite to demand it in one voice. But opposition of this kind from non-Brahmans and others will operate as an adverse factor. The non-Brahmans ought to bear this in mind. A cat (a harbinger of ill-luck) cannot ensure our success. It can only stand in our way.

<u>For the week ending the 19th May 1917</u>.

Brahmans and Non-Brahmans.

83. In an article under this head contributed by a correspondent to the PRAPANCHAMITRAN of the 13th May, the following observations occur:--If the Indians are divided among themselves regarding the question of self-government, how will the foreign British Government grant it to us? But before we obtain SWARAJ, we should educate, as soon as possible, the lakhs of people who are uneducated. This is an important duty of all, whether Brahmans

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or non.Brahmans. Thousands of small schools should be established in the country by both the rich Indians as well as the Government. As the prosperity of our country largely depends on agriculture, Agricultural Colleges should be cause to be built in large numbers. As all useful metals and cotton, sugarcane, skins and timber are available in our country, it is highly necessary that industry should soon be developed. To indulge in religious differences, leaving these things out of consideration, will be a folly. What are the things that we chiefly requite? They are education to the masses, advancement of industry and self-government.

For the week ending the 26th May 1917.

Brahmans in Government service

21. JUSTICE, of the 21st May, writes as follows:--"We are seriously told that the Non-Brahmans should have no grievance merely because the Brahmans hold nearly all the Government appointments open to Indians. If this is so, why quarrel with the British Government for giving appointments to Englishmen? Of course we shall be told that the Englishman is a foreigner, but that the Brahman is an Indian. But the non-Brahman owes his present emancipated position to the very same foreigner and the Brahman also owes a great deal to the foreigner. KThat foreigner has established peace, order and good government in this land. He has introduced the spirit of social progress and he has been doing his best to ensure social justice. So the argument against the foreigner has no weight. The fact is that so far as appointments go every class and community in India has a right to its own proportionate share under British Government!"

For the Week ending the 2nd June 1917.

The Brahmans and the Non-Brahmans.

80. In an article under this heading, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA of the 1st June writes:--There was to be a District Conference at Coimbatore and it had been resolved to elect Mrs.Besant as its President. A committee had been appointed therefor. There were

both Brahmans and Non-Brahmans in that committee. Somebody stepped into sow the seeds of disunion between the two. The non-Brahmans withdrew from the committee. They attempted to have a conference of their own. The idea of holding the conference was abandoned for the reason that it would serve no purpose, unless the several classes and communities could unite and place national welfare above individual interests. Self-denial is an inherent virtue in the Brahmans. It is never desirable that the Brahmans and non-Brahmans should remain on terms of mutual ill-will. If non-Brahmans should seek to dissociate themselves from the Brahmans, the Brahmans would do well to leave the work of national progress altogether x to the non-Brahmans. Petty internal feuds are as injurious to a nation as to a household. If any persons would augment these feuds, let them please themselves. It behoves all true patriots however to keep aloof from these quarrels.

The Non-Brahmans.

89. In an article headed the "Non-Brahmans," the SAMPAD ABYHUDAYA, of the 29th May, traces the origin and history of castes in India, and remarks:--There are good people as well as bad in all VARNAS, and they have to be judged according to the purity of their thoughts, words and deeds, and not according to the VARNAS. It is much to be regretted that thoughtless men are becoming actuated by caste and religious animosities without realising this truth. The world is wide enough for all people to live in amicably like brothers. Many non-Brahman newspapers have begun to pour censure even upon Sir Visvesvaraya who has taken up the cause of the backward non-Brahmans, and sanctioned a lakh of rupees for their education. In many other ways also he is doing his best to bring them up to the level of the Brahmans, and yet he is being charged with being a partisan of Brahmans. It is not difficult for the Brahmans to be indifferent towards the non-Brahmans. But Sir Visveswarayya wishes to heal up differences and enable all people to live in a fraternal spirit. There will, of course, be black sheep in every fold. But is it

just to hate a whole community for the sins of a few black sheep in it? Quarrels breed disunion. Shall we make war upon one another like dogs and fulfil the desire of those who take advantage of our disunion and would like to kick and keep us down-trodden? It behoves the non-Brahmans equally with Brahmans to attend to this aspect of the question.

For the week ending the 9th June 1917.

The Non-Brahman manifesto

73. The DRAVIDAN, of the 2nd June, reproduces in Tamil the Non-Brahman manifesto published by JUSTICE of the 26th February 1917.

The Brahman and the Non-Brahmans

74. The DRAVIDAN, of the 2nd June, published a dialogue between two Brahmans from the pen of a correspondent in which one is made to assert that the Brahmans had written many SASTRAS in order to make the other classes obey them, and that they have been purposely preventing the other classes from having facilities of education, etc., so as to preserve their own position.

The Brahman and Non-Brahman split.

75. The PRAPANCHAMITRAN, of the 3rd June, publishes details of the confusion caused at Coimbatore in the matter of holding the District Conference describing how it was due to the Brahman-Non-Brahman split, and concludes by saying that it is a victory for the JUSTICE.

The same paper traces elsewhere how this split arose, and observes:--We are really sorry that these two communities are growing more and more inimical gradually. The danger we apprehended has happened. The Coimbatore District Conference was held in a quite orderly manner for the last three years. Steps were taken to convene it even this year. But some Non-Brahman gentlemen--these take no interest in public affairs--were bent upon preventing the Conference being held and have successfully

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stopped it. This is a very unwise act indeed on their part. Mr.Sambanda Mudaliyar says that the abandonment of the Conference has nothing to do with the Brahman-Non-Brahman split. Will he lay his hand upon his heart and say so? We do not say that the conduct of the Brahmans who tried to convene the Conference was blameless. But the Non-Brahmans could have rectified it.

The Brahman Conference at Delhi

76. Anent this conference, the PRAPANCHAMITRAN, of the 3rd June, observes:--Much has been said at this conference about the superiority of the Brahmans. But these can never be said to have done anything to uplift the Non-Brahman classes. They should give up thinking and speaking of the Non-Brahmans as SUDRAS and an inferior race, nor should they lay stress upon their superiority in sectarian conferences. If India is to be united and progress, caste disputes should cease. The Non-Brahmans should follow the example of Diwan Bahadur P.Kesava Pillai and the Brahmans should behave like S.Subrahmania Ayyar and Justice C.Sadasiva Ayyar. If Brahmans hold separate conferences for themselves, it leads the Non-Brahmans holding such for themselves.

For the week ending the 16th June 1917.

The Brahman-Non-Brahman split.

52. Referring to this split, the LOKOPAKARI, of the 4th June, says that it is due to nothing but the jealousy of a few Non-Brahmans, who have come forward to hamper the progress of the country, and adds:-- This split is marring the union among the different classes of Indians. No one can be against the Non-Brahmans seeking to uplift their own community. Instead of doing this, they are trying to prevent even the holding of District Conferences, which are conducted with the idea of improving the country. This is really unwise. Some Non-Brahmans made all possible endeavours to prevent the Provincial Conference from meeting at Cuddalore. But they did not succeed in their attempts. Still they caused many inconveniences to those who attended the Conference. Their activity has now been extended even to Coim-

The Brahman and Non-Brahman split

The LOKOPAKARI, of the 11th June, writes:--The people of this country are divided into four castes, and each of these castes is again divided into a number of sub-castes, some of which are considered to have a higher status than others. But when the present cry is that all caste distinctions should be abolished, some peoples seem to be bent upon increasing these distinctions. These have formed themselves into a fifth caste called the Non-Brahmans, the main trait of which seems to be jealousy of the Brahmans. The Brahmans have from the ancient days been cultured men. It is the duty of the wise to give due respect to culture, and it savours of low breeding to be jealous of culture. The Brahmans are wise because of their good manners and perseverance. Other castes should emulate the Brahmans and try to improve themselves. If, instead of this, which is the wisest course, they begin to grow excessively jealous of the Brahmans ~~of hate~~ and hate them, it indicates only ignorance. The majority of those abusing the Brahmans are only Madrasees, and even these are only a few, who have been disappointed in not acquiring sufficient influence with the Government. These do not again represent the three other castes than the Brahmans. The anti-Brahman controversy created by these will do no credit to them. It is a known fact that, where there is division, nothing can be done well. The aim of every Indian should be to devise the best means of improving India. ~~We have been reduced~~ Those who try to hamper the progress of ~~the~~ India cannot be called Indians. We have been reduced to this low condition only on account of internal dissensions. We have not yet learnt any lesson from this. We should not forget that every country is being ruled only by the cultured, and it is the cultured that have the capacity to work for the progress of the country. It is not wise to refrain from giving the respect that is due to them and be jealous of them. When one considers the way in which these Non-Brahmans treat the Panchamas, the Brahmans can be stated to be treating the Non-Brahmans much better.

N.B. Please include this para before commencing to the para No. 45 on page 61.

batore. Some Non-Brahmans on the Reception Committee of the District Conference, which was arranged to be held there on the 25th and 26th instant, created a split in the Committee on petty grounds, such as that no speech should be delivered in the Conference on Home Rule, and prevented the Conference from being held. What a stupidity! This is due to the hatred of the Brahmans. Till now, the Hindus and the Muhammadans were divided on account of mutual jealousy. The latter now realise that they should be united with the Hindus, if India is to progress. We should be laughed at, if, at this juncture, when we should be strongly united, we become divided. The Hindus should note this carefully. If they do not so, the progress of India need not even be dreamt of.

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For the week ending the 23rd June 1917.

The Non-Brahman advancement.

45. The DRAVIDAN, of the 12th June, writes:--We, the Non-Brahman Hindus should devise the best means of advancing. We should have an eye upon our own advancement, without being allured by the trickish ways of interested people, who talk sweetly but are always intent to bestow special attention on the education of our boys. If our youths are to progress in education, they should be placed mostly under the care of men of our class, who take an interest in our welfare. Will those who say that we cannot read the VEDAS try to increase our knowledge? So we repeat that the education of our boys should be subject to our supervision. In the phrase "our supervision" should be included the supervision of impartial Europeans, Muhammadans and others. Until party spirit disappears from our country and the Brahmans and Non-Brahmans become united into one class of Hindus, we should not give room to any suspicion. So in seeking to improve the education of the Non-Brahman boys, big schools should be started which are full of Non-Brahman Hindu, European and Muhammadan teachers. We should also make efforts to get a large number of men belonging to our community

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into the University. Secondly, we should make all efforts to reserve the majority of seats in municipalities, Legislative Councils, etc., for men of our community. Thirdly, we should be representing our grievances and wants ~~ax~~ to the Government and the superior officials from time to time. If we do all this, we can advance very rapdily.

For the week ending the 30th June 1917.

The Non-Brahman movement.

54. Referring to the Brahman and Non-Brahman split, the MUSLIM DHUTAN, of the 23rd June, writes in its leader as follows:--There is not the slightests reason to believe that this movement is accepted or followed by Non-Brahman Hindus. It appears that it has come into existence principally through the exertions of a few who bear hatred or jealousy towards Brahmans. It is true that only Brahmans are highly educated and occupy eminent positions and that the other classes are not so. This is because they pay more attention to study an render greater help to their class men, and poor Brahman boys, who cannot afford to spend any money for their education, go begging for the money required and prosecute their studies with perseverance. These good qualities they possess, which the Non-Brahmans do not. And further, the Brahmans do not cause any hindrance to the progress of the Non-Brahmans. It is indeed advantageous to the country that there should be a movement among the Non-Brahmans to uplift themselves to the position occupied by the Brahmans, who are also bound to render every assistance to the movement.

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THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT

MADRAS NEWSPAPER REPORTS: JULY TO DECEMBER 1917.

For the week ending the 7th July 1917.

Non-Brahmans and the present situation.

10. The following appears in the NON-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 1st July, under the heading "Rally the Non-Brahman". "To those who are watching the political horizon, there is something that must call for thought. The agitation that has sprung up over the interments is not to be ignored, although wild writings and wilder speeches have suddenly been stopped by the wholesome effect of the internments. Non-Brahmans, as men who have a stake in the land, cannot afford to passively look on the situation. Responsible men like Taj Bahadur Sapru are openly ~~preeh~~ preaching that the youths need not enlist in the Indian Defence Force, because Mrs. Annie Besant has been interned--the sudden suspension of the activities of the Indian Defence Force Committee amounts only to that. This is a serious step, and brings us face to face with an aggressible form of agitation which may be misunderstood by young bloods. If old and responsible men would be so reckless, what of the less experienced and more thoughtless. Hence we say that we are face to face with a situation that calls for our active ~~mim~~ aid. . . We are, at least as much opposed to repression in India as, say, Babu Bepin Chandra Pal. But we ask the Government to take us more into confidence. . . . We do not sympathise with threats and irresponsible rashness. But we do care very much indeed that we shall have no repression. But unless we see signs of repression, we shall not have ~~mmxxxxxxxxxx~~ anything to do with agitation. Such is our attitude, and we ask the Government what they are going to do with such a reserve of sympathetic and independent fountain of opinion as we are. . . We, Non-Brahmans, are ready at hand to interpret between the real people and the Government, only much use has not been made of us as might be. The Government have not cared to make use of us. Let the Government ~~that in a short time there~~ calls us to help, boldly proclaim a polity of advancement and we shall see to it that in

a short time there shall not be many men to protest against suspicixons of repression and such original grievances."

For the week ending the 14th July 1917.

59. The DRAVIDAN, of the 7th July, has the following short notes regarding Brahmans:--In temples they are the officiating priests, in houses they are the PUROHITS (family priests), and in offices they are the officers! Thus the Brahmans are found everywhere. Are they found only as officers in offices? No. They even take up such menial posts as those of muchis in offices. Thus they are found in different capacities in different places. Excellent! Further, they allow none to approach them, none to come near them. How are we to live, O Lord!, in this pressure.

The Brahmans.

Not content with these, on occasions of marriage and on occasions of funerals they would run from place to place and plunder our money! Whose is this money and whence has this come? The money that is given in the temples is the money of the non-Brahmins; the money that is paid as taxes is the money of the non-Brahmins; the money that is given on festive occasions is the money of the non-brahmans. Like the waters of the river that flow into the sea, all this money safely goes into the hands of the Brahmans! Should we not endeavour to safeguard our money?

Not content with service in charitable institutions, they have begun to be the heads of such institutions!x They set on foot certain organizations create xxxx troubles and play all kinds of trick to oust the descendants of the endowers of such institutions and apppopriate to themselves all the powers. If our men allow themselves to be duped, they are lost! If they are inactive, they will be completely undone! Let non-Brahmans alone look after the management of charitable trusts endowed by non-Brahmans. Let not the Brahmans interfere in these matters as uninvited guests.

65. In an article on the mode of eking out a livelihood contributed by a correspondent to the DRAVIDAN of the 12th July, the following observations occur:--Many are the nonentities that live by eating the bread and wearing the clothes we give them and yet call us SUDRAS without any diffidence. Many are the priests who work in our temples, maintain themselves on our money, and yet are displeased with us. Many are the Brahman youths, who prosecute their studies with out financial aid, pass the examinations, enter the Government service, rise high in their position and power, but do not condescend to speak to us when they see us or to come to us when we call them. Alas! Should the money of our people be spent in this way? Are there in this world men who are so ignorant as to water a field of grass? Why not throw our money into an ant-hill or into the bushes rather than give it to these low men who have no gratitude? All our sastras declare that there is but one SWAMI (God). But in our DRAVIDA country all Brahmans are SAMIS (Gods).

Brahmans and Non-Brahmans.

The man who, in hotels, cooks and serves our meal is a SAMI; the man who supplies drinking water on the railway platform is a SAMI; the man who sells sweets is a SAMI; and the man who cringes for alms is also a SAMI; Thus everywhere we see SAMIS. In short, every Brahman is a SAMI. When we see a Brahman, we greet him as SAMI. It does not strike us that all these are unwise acts. Just as we call a person who is stone-blind a man of good vision, we call the Brahman, who has all vices in him, a SAMI. Is this proper?

If everyone, who wears a thread, is a SAMI, even the blacksmith and the potter are SAMIS. There is no reason whatever to call idotic and obstinate Brahman a SAMI. Therefore let out students and other Tamilians give up ~~the~~ from today the bad practice greeting the Brahman as SAMI.

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For the week ending the 28th July 1917.

60. In the course of a communication from a correspondent under the heading the "Arrogance of Brahmans and the evil resulting therefrom" published in the DRAVIDAN of the 17th July the following observations occur:--The injustice caused to others by those, who have come out in this city of Madras and elsewhere styling themselves as Brahmans, is not small. In the beginning they approached our people as household priests and made a living by this profession. Now, by the grace of Kali (the deity of the Yuga) they pass B.A, and B.L. and enter service in big offices. If there are 10 Brahmans and 5 non-Brahmans in an office, all these ten join together, grow intimate with the officers and try to oust the aforesaid other castemen who are our people. If the officers do not yield to their wishes, they secure recommendations to the highest officer and see that the castemen are completely removed from their office and replaced by Brahmans. Do officers in charge of every office notice this? No. Even if they sometimes do, these Brahmans say something or other to them and hush it up. Besides, these Brahmans tom-tom and blab that they alone belong to the high caste. But they come in large numbers, like swarms of bees, to receive with open arms the alms that are being given to them by our people. Do these belong to the high caste or do we? Even from the standpoint of the Sastras, there is indeed no reason to make such a statement. For, they say that the Brahman came out from the face of Brahma, the Kashatriya from his shoulders, the Vaisya from his abdomen and the Sudra from his foot, and that those that came out of the face alone are, therefore, of the highest caste. If what they say is true, Brahma should have indeed created men in different ways to suit the different castes. But there is in fact so much thing. All men are exactly of the same type. If a tree grows up with flowers and fruits, can one of its branches yield sweet, one sour, one brackish and one bitter fruits? Many of these Brahmans are still ignorant

Brahmans and Non-Brahmans.

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of this and vaunt that they alone form the high caste, and our men still trust these Brahmans and allow themselves to be duped. These Brahmans attempt to join together and completely root us out. I hope that hereafter at least you will not allow them to conduct the ceremonial rites on the occasion of marriages, etc., in your homes.

Brahmans and Non-Brahmans.

In the course of a letter from a correspondent published in the DRAVIDAN of the 20th July the following observations occur:--We should firmly believe that the time has come for usx to acquire all rights. It is our duty to help the Non-Brahmanx brethrenx to advance in every respect. Alas! It is indeed regrettable that, instead of doing this, the Non-Brahmans, both rich and poor, have not given up the practice of making presents of all kinds to the Brahmans alone. Thex thx Non-Brahmans should not hereafter acquiesce in the fraudulent deeds of Brahmans, done under guise of friendship, as the object of the latter is indeed to root out the Non-Brahmans completely. Is it not the money of Non-Brahmans that makes the Brahmans treat, them with contempt? Is it the result of destiny or the fruit of past action that Non-Brahmans should construct temples and choultries at great cost and allow Brahmans to earn a living therefrom?

For the Week ending the 4th August 1917.

Brahmans and Non-Brahmans.

53. The DRAVIDAN, of the 26th July, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, the substance of certain lectures delivered on the 22nd idem in the ADIKESAVAPERUMAL temple at Chintadripet, wherein one of the lecturers, in speaking of the present degenerate condition of the non-Brahmans, is reported to have made the following observations:--Indeed the Brahmans are primarily responsible for our present degenerate condition. We do not know xxx whether it is on account of the influence of KHALI or some other cause, that they have completely given up the performance of the religious duties which were always discharge

by their ancestors without fail, and wholly renounced the study of their mother tongue which they are bound to study, and that they deem the language of the State to be the proper means for eking out a livelihood with authority, secure high posts in the public service, encourage their own men and disregard ~~xxxx~~ others. Even the Brahmans in the temples are now following their example, and it is on account of such conduct on their part, no good results to us from these temples.

How many Brahmans are there here now to listen to the lecture? None. But when they hear the ring of the bell, they will rush in to partake of the offerings to the deity. Ask them why they went away without hearing the lecture, and they would say "Can we, who are worthy of being praised, deign to hear lectures given by Sudras? If we should do so, it will only affect the Sudras prejudicially". Alas! What an injustice is this? How can our lecture savour sweet to these false Brahmans who have learnt only certain devices, and that defectively, to eke out a living, and neglect the language of the country?

Are the Englishmen inferior to Sudras, or superior to the Brahmans? What is the opinion of the Brahmans in this matter? Why should these, who make obeisance only to Englishmen who are foreigners, not hear the words describing the great qualities of God uttered by others whose knowledge and conduct are both excellent?

In the course of a long article headed VIDYADARAPURANAM appearing in the DRAVIDAN, of the 30th July, in which the writer speaks disparagingly of the ~~30th July, in~~ presiding deities in some of the sacred shrines in Southern India and the mysteries associated therewith, and also of some of the rituals observed in the performance of certain religious ceremonies, the following observations occur:--We have fallen into the abyss of the Aryan tricks. Whatever is seen is God. ~~To roam about idly~~ Whatever is said is a MANTRA. All buildings that are constructed are temple To roam about idly is wisdom. It is said that the Aryans alone

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have a soul. Whatever they say is VEDA. There are countless varieties of gods. ~~xx~~ Differences in castes are larger in number. Alas! Aryan schemers! Why not stop there and begin to take steps for the advancement of the country? Why not disclose your deceit? Whom would you deceive after the country is ruined ~~and disclose your~~ and crumbles to dust ? Where would

p.2102 not also be ruined then as the bamboo that catches fire by friction?

you then live? Would you still how many deceits! How many tricks! Which can we escape? They (Aryans) are to be found all over the courts. Throughout the country is the snare laid by them. They are found to hold all offices of authority. Alas! how are the poor people to be saved?

The same paper has the following observations in the course of an article contributed to it by a correspondent on caste differences:--If you begin to make enquiries regarding the birth of RISHIS, who are the ancestors of the Brahmans, it will be quite evident that they are in no way superior to the men of other castes; For their ancestors are Sownaka born of the dog, Garghya born of an ass, Mandavya bron of a frog, Vasishta born of a prostitute, and other Rishis born of mothers who belong to the class of the boatmen, fishermen, cobblers, etc. Further, these Brahmans are not the ancient inhabitants of India. It is understood that they migrated into this country from Persia.

The Parsis are killing horses, bullocks, sheep, etc., and eating them. Similarly the Brahmans too were eating these under the pretext of performing sacrifices.

For the week ending the 11th August 1917.

~~Page 2148.~~
~~Para 2.~~

Brahmans and Non-Brahmans.

The DRAVIDAN, of the 31st July, has the following observations on the subject:--Why should words such as "the public strongly protest against," "they are very much strongly protest against

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For the week ending the 11th August 1917.

The DRAVIDAN, of the 31st July, has the following observation on the subject:--Why should words such as "the public strongly protest against," "they are very much dissatisfied" and "they condemn" be published in the newspapers in bold type and the ordinary people terrified thereby? The internment orders have not caused any dissatisfaction among the people. But it is only after hearing the loud cry raised by these Brahman vakils and on reading the matter printed in bold type in newspapers under the headings "protest meeting", "internment order", "Home Rule celebration", that the other people have begun to enquire what the matter is. Thus the expression "the public" as used by the Home Rulers represents only Brahman vakils and Brahman pensioners. Of the total population of the Madras Presidency, "the public" as spoken of by the Home Rulers may consist of 100 persons at the rate of four persons for each district. To the Home Rulers only do these appear to be "the public" of this Presidency.

Brahmans and non-Brahmans.

The following observations occur again on the same subject in the course of ~~th~~ a communication from a correspondent published in the same paper:--Many go out for wool and come home shorn. Similarly some persons build choultries and appoint as managers thereof many Brahmans, who have blooming faces like the lotus and cruel hearts like a pair of scissors. They do not give even a morsel of food to others who are not of their community. Is this indeed charity! Is this indeed virtue! . . . . .

Would you go to heaven soon after you die, by offering food daily to these Brahmans considering them to be very great men? Or, have you been allured by the wretched words of the Brahmans to the effect, "If you give us food so that out stomachs may be full and we roll like the mountain snake unable to move, the celestial car will come to take you after your death"?

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The DRAVIDAN, of the 28th July, has the following couplets, from the pen of a correspondent under the heading "the word ~~f~~of AMMAI is full of peril while the word of AVVAI is full of wisdom", and these couplets are stated to refer only the Brahmans who throw obstacles in the way of the progress of the Dravidans and whose habits are questionable:--

Brahmans and non-Brahmans.

1 The word of AMMAI is perilous--O Brahmans!

2 Ambition has no limit--O! Brahmans!
Let the English alone rule over us--O! Brahmans!

3 You, who speak low of the English--O! Brahmans!
Your profession is only begging--O! Brahmans!

4 You, who obstruct the giving of alms--O! Brahmans!
Youm who honour not your parents--O! Brahmans!

5 You, who never speak the truth--O! Brahmans!
Even the little you have will be lost--O! Brahmans!

6 You, who wander from town to town--O! Brahmans!
Disgrace unto you--O! Brahmans!

7 You, who take all that we have--O! Brahmans!
You, who would not give even a little to us--O! Brahmans

8 You who eat without giving alms--O! Brahmans!
Indeed suspicion is on you--O! Brahmans!

9 Why not you conduct yourselves consistently--O! Brahmans!
We will not join the enemy--O! Brahmans!

10 You, who speak with partiality--O! Brahmans!
Why have you given up reciting the Vedas?--O! Brahmans!

11 You, who speak enviously--O! Brahmans!
The word of AVVAI IS FULL OF WISDOM--O! Brahmans!

~~and AVVAI uses~~ 11 Aug. 1917

~~To explain the words AMMAI (amall-pox) or plague AMMAI (plague), but MALAI AMMAI, the woman on the mount (Mrs. Besant). Let our readers understand this.~~

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AVVAI.--AVVAI, though a woman, has clearly said, "Hear not the words of a woman". Ponder over this and understand that Home Rule is a downright lie and that it is a matter of self-interest. The greater the ambition the heaveer the loss! The British Government that has granted us peace to live in freedom is indeed powerful. Will not the waving of a Home Rule flag on the mountain, without being content with what we have, result in endless affliction?

To explain the words AMMAI ~~(small-pox)~~ and Avvai used in these verses, the correspondent gives certain foot-notes which contain the following:--

AMMAI:--Not MARI AMMAI (small-pox) or plague AMMAI (plague) but Malai Ammai the woman on the mount (Mrs.Besant). Let our readers understand this.

For the week ending the 18th August 1917.

Brahmans and Home Rule.

57. In the course of a long article on the cry for Home Rule contributed by a correspondent to the DRAVIDAN, of the 11th August, the following observations occur:--Our Dravidan people are a hundred times larger in number than the Brahmans, and yet why should they not work hard to put an end to the arrogance of these Brahmans so that these may not utter the expression Home Rule? Indeed, how great must be the fortitude of these Beahmans that, with the mad idea of getting His Excellency Lord Pentland removed from his office, they should go on delivering speeches directed against His Excellency merely because he ~~xpkx x~~ spoke against their aspirations for Home Rule. What accounts for this courage in them? It is indeed due to want of union, education and civilization amongst us. The uncivilized Dravadians around us, on account of ignorance and want of union on their part, make a mountain of a mole hill,, create quarrels among themselves, give thousands of rupees to these wretched Brahman vakils, and thus help them, who are in a very low state, to come to an eminent position in life. Are not these Brahmans to earn a living by begging, by conducting funeralx rites and wandering in search of marriage houses? Such are the qualifications of these Brahmans; and instead of realising the present condition of our country and the difficulties and sufferings experienced by our Emperor and by the people, and instaad of daily praying ~~&&&~~ to God that our Emperor ~~andxby the-people,-and-instead-of-dai~~ may be blessed with peace of mind and complete victory in the present war, these Brahmans are, like the frogs croaking in winter, raising, in every corner of the country, a loud cry for Home Rule. Can there be such seditionists as these Brahmans? Indeed they seem to have raised the cry without the discrimination as to how they would administer the country if they are granted Home Rule. Have they any knowledge at all of politics? They think that political tenets are as easy to learn as the MANTRAS they

chant while performing funeral ceremonies. Even during the present time when the British Government have established law and order and have done every good essential for the convenience of the public, these Brahmans are playing such devil dance, and God alone knows what sufferings we will have to undergo if unfortunately the administration of this country should vest in them. Eventually they will grow jealous of each another, and causing great commotion in the country, spoil the prestige of India. It is their habit to kick when you kiss them and to kiss when you kick them. These are bringing disgrace to the very Government who have conferred on them high appointments, and placed them in a good position and are justly ruling over the people. Are there any others who are as ungrateful as these Brahmans? It is indeed our Dravidian people and the officers of the Government that are responsible for this attitude of the Brahmans.

Non-Brahman Conference.

76. The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 11th August, writes:--From the writings in some papers it may be surmised that some persons are afraid of the attempts made to convene a non-Brahman Conference at Coimbatore. This fear is not, however, without xxx pxxitx grounds. It is true that some of our xantagonists are scheming to create dissensions amongst the Indians to show that there is no agreement among them regarding political matters. And it is also true that some of the non-Brahmans are yielding to such machinations. It is also a fact that some of them are giving expression to perverse opinions on political matters. All in the country, Brahmans and non-Brahmans, must be interested in the well-being of the country. Who else than the Non-Brahmans are bearing most the burden of taxation?. . . Who else are suffering most from the oppression of the zamindars and from the heavy encumberance of the capitalists? Who else are becoming dependent upon others on account of administration not being carried on and education not being given through the medium of vernaculars? There are many ryots who can argue

their cases independently and efficiently if prominence is given to the vernaculars in the courts of law and in Legislative Councils. . . I If the Coimbatore Non-Brahman Conference is to be of use, it should attract ryots, merchants and all deliberations therein should be conducted in the vernacular. . The goal of political reforms is not appointments under the Government. Let Non-Brahmans agitate to obtain more of them. It makes no difference whoever gets the higher appointments under the present political administration. The country does not gain an iota of benefit ~~administration~~ thereby. The question that should be determined with great concern is whether administration should be in the hands of the bureaucracy, or of the representatives of the people. If it is the representatives that shoudd wield the authority of the State are they to be elected in accordance with considerations of caste and creed? It is desirable that the Non-Brahman should, instead of opposing the Home Rule movement, help on the gradual amelioration of all castes and the creation of electorates having equal opportunities.

For the week ending the 25th August 1917.

Brahmans and Non-Brahmans.

30. In the course of a communication appearing in the DRAVIDAN of the 15th August from the pen of a correspondent, in which he condemns the habit of the non-Brahmans of presenting money and articles to Brahmans on festive and funeral occasions, the following observations about the Brahmans occur:--The Dravidians in this country have for long been conducting their festive and funeral occasions only with the aid of the Aryan caste Brahmans. The reason for this is nothing but the tricks played by the latter. The Dravidians are innocent people, believing every one, while the caste Brahmans are adepts in the art of deception. Having written the necessary works in Sanskrit to help them in extorting an enormous amount of money from the Dravidians, they have been cheating the latter, who

have become a victim to their deception. The caste Brahmans do not know anything of the truths in the ancient Tamil works. They conduct the festive and funeral occasions of the Dravidians only with the aid of their own SMIRITIS. These SMIRITIS strongly advocate the distinctions of caste and speak highly of the Brahmans and lowly of the Dravidians. They prescribe one MANTRA for each caste and smell wholly of flesh. The Dravidians should not be allured by their tactics. It is very hard to find out the deception practised by the caste Brahmans under the guide of friendship. They will take up any work provided it yields them a profit without caring whether it is high or low.

Brahmans and non-Brahmans.

A correspondent of the DRAVIDAN, of the 17th August, characterising the activity of the Home Rulers of Mayavaram as a work of interested Brahmans and comparing their cry for Home Rule to the howling of jackals, questions their motive in getting two non-Brahmans to sign a notice of the local Home Rule League, and makes the following appeal to the Dravidians:--O! Dravidian brethren! Ponder well over the nature of the present-day Brahmans. Who can deny that they have for centuries been ekeing out a livelihood by cheating the non-Brahmans and that they have been doing this even under the British rule? They ~~presented~~ pretend to help us in obtaining the grace of the Almighty and in expiating our sins and attaining salvation, and have on ~~txs~~ this pretext made an abode of our temples. They cleverly wrest our property from us, saying that it is for the benefit of our ancestors in the other world and live upon it. Not content with playing these tactics with us, they are now convening public meetings to threaten even the benign English Government. I warn my Dravidian brethren from having anything to do with these meetings.

Another correspondent of the same paper appeals to the Dravidians to give up the habit of getting their festive and funeral occasions conducted only by Brahmans and, realising that befriending a Brahman means a danger to life, to avoid them altogether. Making special reference to the non-Brahman Conference

held at Coimbatore, he asks all non-Brahmans to strive for the cause of this conference without becoming a victim to the allurement of the Brahmans.

For the week ending 1st September, 1917,

43. The TAMILIAN, of the 15th August, publishes a number of verses from the pen of a correspondent which condemn the Brahmans as having written false books styled Vedas, Puranas and Manudharma Sastra to support their claim of belonging to the highest caste and to help them in eking out a livelihood and calls them MLECHAS.

Brahmans and Non-Brahmans.

For the week ending the 8th Sxeptember 1917.

47. In the course of a long article under this heading, a correspondent of the DRAVIDIAN of the 4th September, refers to the various Tamil equivalents for the word "Brahman" and, describing how each name was given to the Brahman on account of certain good qualities to be possessed by him and how the Brahmans of the present day are lacking in these qualities, concludes by saying that calling them by these different names, when they have not even one of these good qualities, which will entitle them to such appellations, resembles a blind man being called a man with the lotus eye and a most ugly fellow being called MANMADA, who is the personification of beauty.

Who are the Brahmans?

For the week ending the 15th September 1917.

59. The TAMILIAN, of the 29th August, dwells at length upon the hard life of the PANCHAMAS in villages, trodden down by the overbearing Aryans, and, referring to the absence of a member in the legislative Council to voice forth their grievances, suggests that a representative can well be chosen to safe-

The hardships of the Panchamas

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guard the interests of these PANCHAMAS from among the Indian Budhists or the Protestant Indian Christians. The paper also advocates the grant of lands on darkhast to these poor people from the extensive poramboke lands available xin the country and adds that, as the village officials are all of them caste people and will therefore stand in the way of such lands being given, the Government should hereafter at least evince an interest in this matter.

Employment of Non-Brahmans in Government service.

64. Adverting to the appointment of a Brahman as a temporary clerk on Rs.20 in the office of the Collector of Madura, the Madura correspondent of the DRAVIDAN, of the 8th September, observes:--All the six applicants for the post are men who have passed the Schoolx Final Examination, and three of these are non-Brahmans. The Collector seems to have forgotten the observations made by Sir Alexander Cardew on the 27th July last. He has not taken x into consideration the complaint justly made by the non-Brahmans that they are not largely entertained in Government service, Perhaps he is not aware that in other places too the Government have paid attention to our complaints and complied with our request. While the number of Brahmans in the Madura Collectorate is already large, it is not a matter for satisfaction that one more Brahman should have been appointed.

Non-Brahmans.

The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 7th September, contains in the Telugu the letter of Mr.A. Sabhapathi Pillai, appearing in English in the HINDU, of the 7th September, under the heading "Non-Brahmans and their self-constituted leaders--an appeal for a new organisation". The paper remarks:--Mr Sabhapathi Pillai contends that the non-Brahmans movement, conducted by Doctor Nair and Rao Bahadur Thiagaraya Chetti, is opposed to the general opinion of the non-Brahmans, and that it is necessary to constitute a new non-Brahman Association to make this plain. The Non-Brahman Conference held at Coimbatore has decided

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against the views of Doctor Nair. The proposed new association will make it plain that there is no difference of opinion among the Indians regarding political reforms. The Indians will unitedly place their views before Mr.Montagu. We hope that the endeavours to constitute a new association will be crowned with success.

The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 10th September, represents the MODERN REVIEW TO HAVE said:--

Non-Brahmans.

We do not say that all non-Brahmans in India are opposed to Home Rule. Even in Madras Presidency where the non-Brahman movement has had its origin, all non-Brahmans are not opposed to Home Rule. Most of those who have joined the non-Brahman movement do say that they require Home Rule to some extent. The resolutions passed at the Coimbatore Non-Brahman Conference testify to this. . . It is very strange that the organisors of the Madras non-Brahman movement have not tried to put an end to the untouching spirit, the monopolising spirit, and the high-handedness of those who rule the country at present and the Eurasians. . . Some contend that if Home Rule is granted, the depressed classes will be subjected to greater social high-handedness. But we do not think that such a thing will happen. . . Even those who advocate a preferential position for the Anglo-Indians cannot but admit that there is much social high-handedness entailed by such preference, for various reasons.

The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 10th September, contains in Telugu the letters published in the HINDU, criticising the policy of the non-Brahman movement and the ceblegram of Rao Bahadur P.Thiagaraya Chetti.

The non-Brahmans.

66. The SWADESAMITRAN and the HINDU NESAN, of the 10th and 11th September, respectively reproduce in Tamil a statement on this subject signed by several merchants, bankers, lawyers and other professional men residing in the city and in the

"Non-Brahmans + Home Rule."

~~The MADRAS MAIL and the HINDU~~

mufussal and belonging to the various non-Brahman communities, expressing their opinion that the system of reforms propounded by the Congress and Muslim League should be pressed on the attention of the authorities for adoption in its entirety subject to the recognition of the principle of adequate representation of the various communities of this province in the Legislative and other councils.

The Non-Brahmans Conference.

The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 25th August, referring to the Non-Brahman Conference held at Coimbatore, observes:--It is very commendable that the conference should with a united voice support the resolution that compulsory primary education should be given. The Indians cannot forget the attempts made by Gokhale for primary education and be ungrateful to him though he is a Brahman. Will the Anglo-Indians who denounce the Congress as a congregation of Brahman lawyers now at least lend their ear to the voice of the Non-Brahman Confernce. Of all the resolutions passed by this Conference the most important is that of self-government. . . They were one with the Congress in asking for a responsible self-government and for offices which train them up for self-government to be given to the Indians after the war. . . . Some of the reforms proposed by them are even more drastic than those proposed by the Congress. It is commendable that the non-Brahmans should wish for such changes as have not been desired even by the Home Rulers who are found fault with as demanding self-government all at once. . . This conference said that the departments of education, health, agriculture, co-operation and registration should entirely be under the control of the non-official members in the Imperial as well as Provincial Legislative Councils. One of them should be elected as President who with a few other members should form a body of ministers and administer the affairs of the said departments, the Government not having any authority over the said ministry. Thus it would be a government of the Indians that manages those departments. . . In this case the said conference has undoub-

tedly outstripped even the congress. . . They agreed to granting complete liberty to the Municiapal and Local board bodies. In this matter also they concurred with the congress. As regards posts under Government service they unreservedly disapproved of the proposals made by the Public Service Commission. It is commendable that resolutions should have been passed as regards fulfilling the desires of the people, to reduce the salaries of high appointments, and to transfer to the Indians the offices now exclusively in the enjoyment of the Europeans. We are boliged to spend thousands of rupees as salaries paid to Collectors, Judges and Board Members. If Indians are appointed for the posts we need only spend half or even a third of the amount now spent. If these changes are brought into force, the necessity for an increase of taxation will considerably be diminished. . . On an examination of all these resolutions our opponents may learn, now at least, that there is none in this country who may be said to be really opposed to Home Rule. . . and that, whatever pranks the Anglo-Indians may play relying on these slight differences the Indians are Indians.

Brahmans and Non-Brahmans.

71. In the course of a long article contributed by a correspondent to the DRAVIDAN, of the 10th September, on the conduct of the Brahman ARCHAKAS of the Sirangam temple, the following observations occur:--Our people in their ignorance think that they acquire great virtue by giving money to these Brahmans. There are now very few pious men among Brahmans and impious men whotake pleasure in doing unjust deeds have increased in numbers. Yet, we have been driven by the force of habit to recognise these men as our elders, preceptors, leaders and patriots. We should soon open our eyes to this state of affairs, and, in future have nothing to do with these men, who having eaten our salt all their life, insult us by addressing us as SUDRAS.

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101. Under this heading the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 8th September, contains some correspondence in which the writers endorse the appeal of Mr.Sabhapathi Pillai for starting a new non-Brahman movement as the present one does not really represent the interests of the non-Brahmans.

A new non-Brahman movement.

Under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 10th September, publishes a letter from the pen of several non-Brahmans, in which while endorsing fully the reform scheme published by the Congress and the Muslim League, the signatories urge the necessity of the grant of separate representation to the different classes of people in South India.

A new. Non-Brahman movement.

The paper observes:--Mother India will have her object accomplished, because all the Indians are in full agreement with the scheme of the Congress. The Indians may hereafter represent their aspirations unanimously to Mr.Montagu.

For the Fortnight ending the 22nd September 1917.

58. Under this heading a non-Brahman correspondent to the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 11th September, says:--The non-Brahman papers do not take our side and work on our behalf. How can those who disregard the resolutions of our Coimbatore Conference against our wishes be our leaders? Excepting those few men, all non-Brahmans are longing for self-government. It is opposed to our self-respect to call them our leaders. Their publications and the acts they have done are for themselves and we are not responsible for them. . . . The existence of a separate association is necessary which can impartially publish the wishes of non-Brahmans fully. There should be one English paper at least which can, on behalf of that association, place our views before the Government. We request that the non-Brahmans will carefully read the letter of Mr.Sabhapathi Pillai published in the ANDHRAPATRIKA of the 7th

A separate non-Brahman Association.

The papers that we now call ours and the leaders whom we call ours are not our papers and our leaders. They are selfish. We have to start an agitation requiring the resolutions of the Coimbatore Conference to be put into force.

The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 11th September, publishes a letter from the pen of Mr. A. Sabhapathi Pillai starting that a meeting will be held ~~at xx~~ for constituting a new non-Brahman Association, that Diwan Bahadur P.Kesava Pillai has approved of the new non-Brahman movement, and that the message sent by Rao Bahadur P.Thiyagaraya Chetti will be discussed in the meeting. The paper wishes every success to the meeting.

The new non-Brahman movement.

The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 13th September, publishes letters from three correspondents disowning Mr.P.Thiyagaraya Chetti as their representative, and advocating the establishment of a new non-Brahman Association.

The new non-Brahman Association

Under this heading the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 15th September, publishes a letter from a correspondent disowning leadership of Rao Bahadur P.Thiagaraya Chetti and his cablegram.

The new-non-Brahman movement.

Referring to the cablegram sent by Mr.P.Thiyagaraya Chetti as representative of the 40 millions of non-Brahmans, a correspondent to the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 12th September, asks whom he consulted or in which meeting a resolution was passed in support of it. . . Those who bow to the patronage of the Government and prove traitors to our country in the name of non-Brahmans can never be our leaders. . . Unless, therefore, a true non-Brahman association is formed in India under the leadership of Diwan Bahadur Kesava Pillai and others, before Mr.Montagu arrives, our real aspirations will not be known.

The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 15th September, writes under this heading:--From the letters published elsewhere it has become clear that the non-Brahmans are not opposed to the Congress. A hundred non-Brahman leaders in Madras, 500 in the

The non-Brahman movement.

Tanjore district and Vannikula Kshatrias who are so numerous in the south of India have given their support to the congress reform scheme. And in several places the cablegram sent by Mr.Thiagaraya Chetti has been condemned. ; . The opinions of papers such as the JUSTICE and the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA are not the real opinions of the non Brahmans. Though the non-Brahmans for the time being demand separate representation, they agree with the rest in wishing for Home Rule. Who can stem the tide of Home Rule agitation.

The non-Brahman meeting.

The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 17th September, says:--The non-Brahmans convened the meeting of Saturday last with the object of disapproving of the cablegram of the President of the South Indian People's associations and expressing their approval of the Congress scheme of reforms. . . The Vannikula Kshatriyas the Arya Vysias, etc., have plainly expressed to the Secretary of State their solicitude for political reforms.

The non-Brahman movement.

The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 17th September reports the WEST COAST SPECTATOR to have written: A leader of non-Brahmans has justified the opinions of the Anglo-Indians and ventured to send a cablegram to the Secretary of State for India. We can assert that, being disappointed in other directions, these leaders have started this movement to gain their selfish ends. No self-respecting and patriotic Indian will join such a movement. . . The course that we, non-Brahmans, should follow is plain. Selfish people will try to misguide us. We must not yield to their influence, but after satisfying ourselves that our interests have been safeguarded, we must approve of the Congress scheme. We cannot agree to all the reforms proposed by the Congress and the Muslim League, but there is room for effecting compromise between the two parties.

The new non-Brahman movement

A correspondent to the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 17th September, says:--It is audacious on the part of Rao Bahadur Thiagaraya chetti to have sent a cablegram to Mr.Montagu criticising the

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cablegram of Sir S.Subramania Ayyar stating that no importance should be attached to the threats of the MADRAS MAIL, who appointed him leader of the South Indian non-Brahmans?. It is absurd that he should act without consulting us. Mr.Chetti and Doctor Nair! We no more want your leadership. It is not proper on your part to gather around you some men who do evil to the country, to bring dishonour to us, by putting forth absurd contentions. We cannot endure this. The writings in JUSTICE, the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA and the DRAVIDAN which you publish do evil to the country. Even when such a gentleman as Dr.Pattabhi Seetharamayya says that five members for every one hundred will be enough in the Legislative Councils on behalf of the Brahman community, you, out of envy, say that the Brahmans should not be trusted and advise their destruction. This is very treacherous. . . O! My non-Brahman brethren! We have nothing to do with their absurd arguments. The sooner we reject their leadership the better. We must necessarily start another non-Brahman Association with Diwan Bahadur Kesava Pillai as President.

The non-Brahman movement.

The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 19th September, publishes a letter in which the writers disown the leadership of Doctor Nayar and Rao Bahadur Thiyagaraya Chetti, and remark:-- The present crazy actions of these gentlemen are deemed by the people to be calculated to please the bureaucrats. . . We are in full agreement with the Congress scheme and as for separate class representation we are at one with Diwan Bahadur Kesava Pillai and others. We say that the contents of the cablegram of Rao Bahadur Thiagaraya Chetti are false.

The new non-Brahman movement.

The ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 14th September, writes as follows on this subject:-- . . . These patriots who, till yesterday, were against a separate communal representation for non.Brahmans, are now for it. They have taken with them the non-Brahmans who have subscribed to the manifesto, and are representing to the world "these are the best of the non-Brahmans"

65. A correspondent to the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 14th September, says:--What right has the South Indian People's Association to call itself the representative of all the non-Brahman communities? Is it not treacherous to the country and to society to be selfish, to act like a wolf in the sheep's skin and to make common cause with the Anglo-Indians. . . Is there any difference between the policy of Lord Curzon who partitioned Bengal and separated the Hindus from the Muhammadans and the policy now pursued by the Madras Government in order to justify their action? Doctor Nair and Rao Bahadur P. Thiagaraya Chetti are undoubtedly the organisers of this association. Who gave authority to Rao Bahadur Thiagaraya Chetti to send a telegram opposed to the telegram sent on behalf of the Indians? When the people clearly know that as in the Philippine Islands there will be no land tax that as in the colonies there will be independence, that there will be no tax on salt which is used by the poorest people also, that there will be less taxation, and that the panchayat system will be revived, will there be any who will not like to have self-government?. . . Let us suppose that sometime hence, some members of the association become capable and ask for SWARAJ. Will not the Government impose restrictions then as now? Cannot some statesmen influence some community to say that it does not want self-government? It is very regrettable that this association does not see such a miserable prospects. . . It is not an association which can be approved of by all the non-Brahmans as their representative body. I am also a non-Brahman. I pray that as stated by Mr.Sabhapathi Pillai, endeavours may be made to start a really representative association.

The non-Brahmans.

80. A correspondent to the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 15th September, writes on this subject:-- . . . Some suppose that the opinions expressed in JUSTICE and the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA and the DRAVIDAN are the opinions of the 40 millions of non-

The non-Brahman movement favourable to Home Rule.

Brahmans of this presidency. This is not at all true. . . I can emphatically assert that the non-Brahmans are not opposed to Home Rule.

The non-Brahmans and the Home Rule movement.

Another correspondent to the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 15th September, writing on this subject, observes:--Mr.Thiagaraya Chetti and Doctor Nayar have brought discredit to the whole country and exposed the non-Brahmans to ridicule. . . Whatever difference of opinions the Indians may have in other matters, it is their duty to be unanimous in what relates to the Congress* held at Lucknow should be granted. . . The correspondent exhorts the non-Brahman leaders to muster under the Congress banner and not prove traitors to their own country. (* and to represent that the scheme of Home Rule drawn up by the Congress)

For the week ending the 19th September 1917.

The non-Brahman meeting.

30. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 21st September, reproduces in Tamil the proceedings of the meeting of the non-Brahmans held on the 20th idem in the Gokhale Hall appearing in the HINDU of the 22nd September, and comments thereon in the ~~Secretary-of-State~~ following strain:--It is the telegram sent by Mr.Tyagaraya Chettiyar to the Secretary of State for India supporting the repressive measures of the Government and objecting to the introduction of political reforms, that has stirred up all the people to activity, irrespective of educational qualifications, wealth or status. Yesterday's meeting was in a way indicative of the patriotic fervour of the people of ~~xixi~~ this presidency and their excitement at the ~~capabale~~ capable sent by Mr.Chettiyar in their name. If the English officials, who say that others than Brahmans do not want political reforms, had been present at this meeting, they would have realised how they have all along been acting under a wrong notion. We are really glad that an association

has been ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ formed with the name of the Madras Presidency Association ~~have~~ with the object of promoting the educational, social and political advancement ~~with~~ of the non-Brahmans of this Presidency. Though we accept the view expressed by Lodd Govinda Das that there was no necessity for a separate association for the non-Brahmans and that the interests of the non-Brahmans could well be safeguarded by existing institutions such as the Madras Mahajana Sabha, no one can deny that the bureaucracy, either believing the deceitful tactics played by some in the name of the South Indian People's association, which claims to represent 40 millions of non-Brahmans or pretending to do so, began to ignore our political aspirations. It is clear from the speech delivered by Lord Pentland in May last, making light of our political agitation, that he believed the traitorous movement set on foot in Madras by some pretenders to be a true one. In replying to the resolution of the Hon'ble Mr.B.N.Sarma in the Imperial Legislative Council condemning the recommendation of the Public Services Commission that there should be a preponderance of Europeans in the Civil Service and the Police Department, the Hon'ble Mr.Couchman, who ~~pre~~ represents the Madras Government in that Council, stated that, as there was a difference of opinion between the Brahmans and the Non-Brahmans in Madras, Mr.Sarma's resolution could not be taken to have the support of all the Indians. The Hon'ble Mr.V,S,Srinivasa Sastriyar gave a proper reply to this. When, at the very moment that Mr.Srinivasa Sastriyar stated in the Imperial Legislative Council that the party of JUSTICE represented only a few, that the real non-Brahman party was in the forming and that the latter would uphold the views of the Congress, a new association of non-Brahmans was started in the Gokhale Hall, no other argument is needed to prove the necessity for this association. We, therefore, heartily approve of its having come into existence.

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For the week ending the 13th October 1917.

43. Dwelling upon the various hardships to which PANCHAMAS are subjected by the social restrictions imposed on them by Brahmans, the DRAVIDAN, of the 3rd October, writes:--

PANCHAMAS' condition and their representation.

All those who are desirous of doing good to these PANCHAMAS should represent to the benign Government their sufferings by means of resolutions passed at the meetings convened for the purpose. If colour distinction is to be made in the Legislative Councils, immediately there is the loud cry of the Brahmans. But if caste distinction is sought to be shown, they remain as though unaware of it. Much is now said of the ~~righ~~x birth-rights of the Indians, but the PANCHAMA is denied even the birth-right of a dog. If only a PANCHAMA had been a Member of the Legislative Council, would he not have represented effectively the hardships experienced by his castemen and told the British rulers that the PANCHAMAS also had an equal right to share the benefits of the British rule as the Brahmans. This, indeed, is our strong reason for urging that every community should be duly represented in every council of the Government and in all Government institutions. Now that the British element is predominant in the Legislative Council all is well; but what will happen when the representative of the people secure the majority in that council and take the administration in their own hands? One party alone will secure all the rights to the ruin of others.

47. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 6th October, publishes, as reported by a correspondent, the proceedings of a meeting held by the Brahmans of Erode on the 5th idem to condemn the action of the Tahsildar, Mr.Sambasiva Mudaliyar, in occupying a choultry used as a rest-house for Brahmans, ignoring thereby their rights to use it and treating the community itself with contempt. A resolution is also said to have been passed at this meeting for memorialising the Government to prevent the

A Brahman meeting at Erode.

non-Brahman officers from acting against the feelings of the Brahmans.

For the week ending the 20th October 1917.

4. The Non-BRAHMAN, for the week ending 14th October, states:

The Panchama revolt.

"Indian journalism reached its lowest ebb when the HINDU abused the Panchamas who had assembled at the Spur Tank under the leadership of Rao Bahadur Tyagaraya Chettiyar and Dr. T.M.Nayar as rag-tags, bob-tails, apaches and the rest. . . Because Doctor Nayar and Mr.Tyagaraya Chettiyar led the movement, and the presence of Brahman imps resulted in a 'chucker out' the Panchamas are abused, Doctor Nayar is said to have 'found his level', and language which the scavengers may use is used against respected politicians. . . Thanks to Mrs.Besant, we have had new journalism. To abuse and revel in dirt, and when the object is gained, circulation increases and the Government is forced to accept her 'word', to suddenly appeal to the Benares audience for moderation! Mrs.Besant appealing for moderation! Can she escape reaping the whirlwind, she who sowed the wind? We live in strange times, indeed, when topsy turvydom prevails and Mrs.Besant sits on the throne and Lord Chelmsford plays the Mani Ayyar to praise her for her 'remarkable activities' The HINDU abuses the labourers as apaches. And leaders are held up to scorn. And these are said to be the preludes for self-government."

For the week ending the 27th October 1917.

5. The following appears in the NON-BRAHMAN for the week ending 21st October:--"The

The Government and the Brahmans

ways of the Government are inscrutable. 'The Government,' NEW INDIA, the organ of 'Bharat Mata' as Mr.Wadia would say, once said, 'are afraid of the Brahmans.' That they are, for did they not release Mrs.Besant? And did they not refuse to release the Alis? More

than that, a serious insult was flung on the entire Moslem population of India when one day the hope was lit?: 'We ~~daxnot~~ are considering the advisability of liberating the Alis'. And then came the sensational reply that shook the Moslems' mind: 'We do not liberate them because they have sympathy with the King's enemies.' That came upon the Moslems as a shock. Mrs.Besant, having passed her word on to Lord Chelmsford, was counselling patience. But ~~sk~~ the agitation has spread. No effect. Having Mrs. Besant by their side the bureaucrats hope to defy India. We seriously put it to educated non-Brahmans whether more cannot begained by attacking the Government, calling Sir Alexander Cardew and Mr.Gillman impertinent and following the paths trod by NEW INDIA. We must make the Government fear us. That is the only way to make out case heard."

The necessity for communal representation.

50. (The DRAVIDAN, of the 19th October, 1917 has a leader on this subject in which it meets the arguments of some that the grant of the rights of communal representation would only accentuate the existing distinctions of caste and lead to internal dissension and that open competition irrespective of considerations of caste is the best method of selection for choosing candidated for the Public Service by the remark that it is the preponderance of the Brahmans in every office and their active efforts to prevent the non-Brahmans from rising that necessitates the demand for communal representation, and observes:--Though it may be thought that numerous evil consequences may result from communal representaion, it is very necessary for securing the progress of the non-Brahmans in their present condition. Until the Brahmans give up their jealousy of the non-Brahmans and learn to look to the interests of others in the same way in which they look to theirs and until the evil effects of the distinctions of caste disappear ~~very~~ and the people become united in all respects, communal representation is very necessary.)

84, The DESAMATA, of the 17th October, says in its leader:--

Home Rule and the non-Brahman movement.

The few gentlemen in England who are hostile to the grant of self-government to the Indians are so because of their love for the bureaucracy in India. . . Some selfish men have created disputes between Brahmans and non-Brahmans and are obstructing our endeavours. . . The Government have not yet begun to show due regard to the opinion of the Legislative Councils. If changes are made on the lines indicated by the Congress and other national institutions, the Government cannot but show regard to the opinion of the majority in the councils, in regard to the imposition and repeal of taxes and in the matter of passing good laws and repealing hard ones. . . The writings of Mr.Nayar not only promote the hatred between Brahmans and non-Brahmans but they also obstruct the endeavours of the leaders working disinterestedly for the good of the country. On Rao Bahadur Thiagaraya Chetti sending a cablegram to Mr.Montagu, the non-Brahmans disowned his leadership. Many of the educated among the Brahmans have agreed to the separate representation of the different classes of non-Brahmans. The special Andhra Conference also gave its approval. Still Doctor Nayar has not reconciled himself with the new non-Brahmans and the national institutions, but is working against them. While the people are singning the memorial that is to be presented to Mr.Montagu in pursuance of the advice of Mr.Gandhi, Doctor Nayar has joined the Anglo-Indians who are working against the aspirations of the people, and is, it is said, arranging to get ready a new memorial opposed to the above-mentioned one. This is opposed to the interest of all except the Anglo-Indians and is unjust. Mr.Montagu is coming to India and an opportunity like this cannot afford itself again. For this reason, many of the Brahman leaders have given their approval to separate representation of the several classes in the country.

So we request that the leaders will explain the Congress scheme of reforms and get the memorial suggested by Mr.Gandhi

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signed by all those who wish to sign it.

85. A correspondent to the DESAMATA, of the 17th October, says under this heading:--

The dispute between Brahmans and non-Brahmans.

When well defended rulers like Charles in England and Louis in Paris were murdered as soon as they became somewhat cruel, can there be a greater lie than that the coward of a Brahman has been annoying the non-Brahmans with impunity till to-day. . . The writings of the MADRAS MAIL, appears to be the cause of the dispute between the Brahmans and the non-Brahamans, Keep out the MAIL which sets you up against one another, and laughs in its sleeves, cunningly accomplishing its object. . . We should know that it is this internal quarrel that brought the Muhammadans into India first, and gave this Empire to the English afterwards, and that such internal dissension exists in no other country than in India.

90. In commenting on the Godavari District Non-Brahman Conference, the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 23rd October, says

Non-Brahmans.

that the non-Brahmans should not keep quiet till the Government gives them separate representation suited to their number, requirements, circumstances, honour, courage, loyalty and patriotism, that they must not place faith in the words and promises of Brahmans, who will not easily give up their authority, that they should request the Government to allow one of their leaders to tour with Mr. Montagu in India, representing to him the requirements of non-Brahmans, and that they should send their representatives also to England to work for separate representation being given to them.

For the week ending the 3rd November 1917.

Nil.

For the week ending the 10th November 1917.

555 The DRAVIDAN, of the 3rd November, publishes from the pen of a correspondent, the proceedings of a non-Brahman meeting held at Vijayamangalama in the Coimbatore district on the 20th October 1917, in which several speeches are reported to have been delivered pointing out that it was not fair on the part of the Brahmans in towns to aspire for home-rule, while it was not necessary for the vast majority of the non-Brahmans in rural aread in their present condition, that it was these Brahmans, who, in the ~~memorial~~ mediaeval period, made the non-Brahmans follow their principles and duped them, that the Government should, without acting on the words of the educated classes alone, conduct the administration in accordance with the wishes of the generality of the people, that, as the village officials were only creating factions in villages to increase their own income, special efforts should be made to establish panchayats, so that the people might get out of the cruel grip of the village officials and manage their affairs themselves and that the Government should be requested to attend to the introduction of compulsoty elementary education in this country, soon after the present stress caused by the war was over, as it was want of education that was at the bottom of the existing evils in India.

A non-Brahmans meeting at Vijayamangalam.

56. The MAHAVIKATA DUTAN, of the 3rd November, reproduces from the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 29th October, the Tamil version of the speech delivered by Mr.Lod Govinda Das as the president of a public ~~of~~ meeting of non-Brahmans held at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, on the 27th idem, under the auspices of the Madras Presidency Association, to consider the question of communal representation in connexion with the Congress scheme of reforms.

Communal representation

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of reforms, the proceedings of which are referred to in paragraph 39 of Report No.44 of 1917.

For the week ending 17th November 1917.

43. The DRAVIDAN, of the 12th November, reproduces in Tamil the presidential address of Rao Bahadur P.Thyagaraya Chettiar at this conference, which appears in extenso in JUSTICE of the same date.

The Non-Brahman leaders' conference, Bezwada.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 12th November, gives the first in Tamil an abstract of the above address and comments on it as follows:--In the first portion of the address Mr.Chettiyar vents his wrath against the Brahmans who demand Home Rule and in the latter he too demands Home Rule. He says that he cannot understand how those who are demanding only the gradual introduction of reforms suddenly pray for complete Home Rule. Evidently he does not see that the Congress is now demanding only one or two reforms which will form the first step towards Home Rule. He repeats the old complaint of the Anglo-Indians that we are demanding Home Rule as a reward for the help rendered by us for the war. He has not noted the answer of the Congress League party for this that we are demanding only the fulfilment of a promise made in Parliament that, as the war has dispelled the want of confidence in us on the part of the authorities, they are prepared to give us some powers. Mr.Chettiyar utters an untruth when he says that the Brahmans have not assisted the Government with men and money. In places where the Brahmans were allowed to enlist in the army, they did not hesitate to do so and the United Provinces can be quoted as an instance in point. If the Brahmans have not enlisted in the army in this Presidency, the Government are themselves responsible for it. As for the help rendered by the Brahmans in money, an examination of the Government accounts will show that the statement of Mr.Chettiyar is wrong. He admits that the progress of local self-government has for some reasons been impeded.

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The Brahmans now demand reforms which will be the basis for Home Rule only to prevent such impediments occurring again. Mr.Chettiyar ixxwxxmgxxxHexadmim dwells upon the necessity for primary education. Does he not know that when a Brahman brought forward a bill in the Imperial Legislative council some years ago to enable all people to have the benefit of primary education, the Government rejected it on the ground of want of funds? How can he say that this excuse will not be repeated again? If, as is demanded by the Congress and the Muslim League, the control of funds is in the hands of popular representatives, will they not be in a position to incur sufficient expenditure for the education of children? Mr.Chettiyar suggests as if it were a new proposal of his, that the people should without going to courts settle their disputes by means of panchayats. Mr.Chettiyar should have had a personal knowledge of the several attempts of the Brahmans and others for many years to introduce a law on this subject at meetings of the Legislative Council is increased, unless the number of popular representatives in the Legislative Council at which he himself was present, having proved futile. He does not evidently realise that, unless the number of popular representatives in the Legislative Council is increased, as is demanded by the Congress and the Muslim League, the desire of the people of to settle disputes by means of panchayats may after all prove to be a day dream. Lastly, he consoles the men of his party with the statement that the time of acquisition of Home Rule by them is not far off. What else do the Home Rulers say? No one demands Home Rule and complete powers immediately. We ask only that the foundation for it should be laid. But there is one difference between out request and his. We demand Home Rule for all people, be they Brahmans or non-Brahmans. Mr. Chettiyar demands it perhaps for the non-Brahmans alone.

The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 12th November, says under this heading:--Persons like Sir Valentine Chrol, who were oppo-

The conference of non-Brahman leaders.

sed to the a

sed to the aims of the Indians have now changed their opinions. But Rao Bahadur P.Tyagaraya Chetti, the President of the conference of non-Brahman leaders, holds opinions which are more xretrograde than the opinions held by these persons formerly. His speech reiterates what the unsympathetic Anglo-Indian historians have written. Most of the things contained in it have been proved by recent investigations to be untrue. Advocates of freedom want greater powers of self-government ~~unsympathetic Anglo-Indian historians have written. Most o~~ under the British suzeraintly. The country has not made any advancement in education, commerce, agriculture and industries and the Home Rulers say that Home Rule is the only remedy for this evil. In his speech on the Mesopotomia Report Mr.Montagu stated that there is no room for progress under the present system of the Government. He has said that the present system of
2697 administration is inflexible, antediluvian and unsuited to the times, and that if in the light of new experience this machine of government, which is a century old, is not reconstructed, the British cannot guide the destinies of the Indian Empire in future. From these words it is evident that great changes have to be effected in the machinery of the Government. Statesmen have found such changes to be necessary not only for the advancement of India, but also for the benefit of England, the efficiency of the empire, and for victory in the war. Doctor Rutherford stated that an invaluable opportunity to strengthen the empire offered itself in 1914, that the British lost it, that if the British statesmen had possessed at least a hundredth part of the wisdom which Mr.Cambell Bannerman had, they would have at once given complete self-government to India and Egypt, and raised large armies in both the countries to march up the gates of Constantinople. He said: "As stated ~~by responsible Government is the only~~ by Mr.Llyod George, a free people could safely defend their homes. The grant of responsible Government is the only charm that can put an end to all social and religious animosities. Any delay or neglect in this matter will end in danger. the Mesopotomia report has opened the gate to self-government. Dependence upon others is a canker to national greatness and to the splendour of noble qualities." Doctor Rutherford quotes the following

words of Sir John Seely: "We think that a national Government conducted by the Indian people will be more beneficial, for xh though such a Government may be backward in civilization, yet it will suit the condition s of the country." British statesmen like Mr.Montagu, are doing their best mf kx to get an opportunity like the one they lost in mk 1914. The r eaders may think for themselves if, in this matter, the shortsighted utterances of Mr.Tyagaraya Chetti are of more use to the efficiency of the empire than the words of advice of statesmen like Mr.Montagu and Doctor Rutherford. . . It appears strange to Mr.Tyagaraya Chetti that the Indians should demand self-government of the Britons, who have pledged themselves to secure independence to all the small states in the world. Mr.Tyagaraya Chetti himself admitted at the end of his speech that, under the British Raj, trade, commerce, education, etc., had not progressed and that the old state of things was much better. He said:--Our rulers have not thought it fit to give us the education that would enable the country to progress in industries and commerce. The education now given only enables us to be quill-drivers, teachers and pleaders. We want scientific education which will be of use in promoting trade and commerce. The Government have to r eform their educational policy accordingly Mr.Chetti has to understand that it is to spread such education in the country that the people urge the necessity of a change in the system of Government. Self government is the only remedy to set right the defects. . . Self-government is necessary to make the people competent to govern themselves. The history of the British Colonies and that of the Philippine Islands bear out this. We are at a loss to know why Mr.Chetti ignores this truth and vilifies the advocates of self-government, especially the Brahmans.

The Non-Brahman Conference, Bezwada

The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 12th November, publishes the speech delivered by Rao Bahadur P- Thyagaraya Chetti as President of the Non-Brahman Conference held at Bezwada, which contains: When the people are told that their taxes will be r educed under

self-government, they feel glad and, without any thought, affix their signatures to memorials. The Government and Mr. Montagu have to note the deceit practised in getting signatures to Mr.Gandhi's scheme. These deceitful practises will become manifest if Mr.Montagu selects one or two signatures made in some streets in Madras and ascertain through the Government what the signatories understood about the scheme and why they signed it.

52. A correspondent to the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 5th November, refers to the opposition of the Brahmans to the endeavours of non-Brahmans to establish a Vedic School at Vellatur (Guntur district) and says:--See how these Brahman Home Rulers are trying to thwart the educational propaganda of non-Brahmans. We suggest that the forthcoming Non-Brahman Conference should request the Government to warn the Brahmans against such acts.

Non-Brahmans and education

For the week ending the 14th November 1917.

66. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 17th November, reproduces the following from the MADRAS TIMES: As the Brahman vilification movement which was started by some disappointed men is now assuming dangerous proportions, the Government have to put a stop to it by restraining or punishing those who promote such racial animosities. Vilification of Brahmans is increasing beyond limits. It is not possible that the Brahmans will patiently put up with abuse contained in the speech of Rao Bahadur Tyagaraya Chetti at Bezwada. He said, "In the past the Brahmans were very greedy. . . The time has come for the Brahman authority and Brahman egoism to disappear. Even the British Government are learning that the Brahmans are not to be relied on! They have now realised that the Brahmans are mean, and ungrateful to those whose salt they eat." If the above statements are examined with an impartial mind, they will appear to be untrue

Brahmans and non-Brahmans.

and to be deliberate misrepresentations. . . Not only in giving appointments, but also in raising the pay, the Government are partial to non-Brahmans. Such things are not laid bare. If they are, the Government justify their action by giving some other reason. Such things have already created dissatisfaction among Brahman officers. Though there may be such partiality to non-Brahmans when conferring appointments, it is surely unjust, and dangerous to administrative efficiency to show such partiality in raising pay and giving promotions. . . While Sir Michael O'Dwyer who accused the Home Rulers with disloyalty and with causing annoyance to the Government had to tender an apology, Mr.Chettiyar is enjoying full freedom in promoting racial animosity.

Non-Brahman Conference.

72. In its leader under this heading, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 17th November, says:- Nowhere else has the nature of the Non-Brahman Conference become evident as at Bezwada. The Kshatriyas, the Arya Vaisyas and the Viswabrahmanas have expressed their approval of the Congress scheme. It has been proved beyond doubt at Bezwada that, only in the rest of the non-Brahmans, there is difference of opinion. About 2,000 non-Brahmans assembled at the theatrical hall of the Raja of Mylavaram and expressed their strong approval of the Congress scheme. Nothing need separately be said about the Presidency Association. A non-Brahman meeting at Kurnool approved of the Congress scheme, (1) that the members of the fourth caste are not all against it, and that the majority of the KAMMAS who are landholders are in favour of the Congress scheme. Among Reddis also many are in favour of the Congress scheme. The Landholders' Association is mostly in favour of the scheme. See how few are the opponents of the Congress scheme. The Coimbatore Conference may be said to have gone beyond the Congress scheme except in the matter of control over the finances. It is a pity that the Andhra non-Brahmans that assembled at Bikkavole had not even half the liberal mindedness of the Coimbatore

(1) From all these it will be plain that the three higher castes are for the Congress scheme,

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non-Brahmans. The Pulivendla non-Brahmans are greater advocates of freedom than our nothern district opponents. Our opponents that assembled at Bezwada have approved xxx of the Bikkavole scheme with slight changes. It will thus appear that there is difference of opinion among the opponents of the Congress scheme.

The paper concludes the leader with a refutation of the arguments advanced by the opponents of the Home Rule, in the course of which occur the following remarks:--Home Rule with separate class representation will make the Indians fit for Home Rule, while slavery without power can only turn out slaves without rights and duties. The opponents ask how the Government can go on, when the Executive Members do not approve of the orders of the Legislative Councils. They are subject to this doubt, because they have not forgotten the arbitrary authority of the Executive Councils. There can be Home Rule only when the power of the rulers is subject xto that of the subjects. Members of the Executive Council cannot but carry out the orders of the Legislative Councils. The former are abut the servants of the latter. Until this principle is recognised, there can be no Home Rule and the Government cannot be responsible. This is the chief reform that should be introduced in Indian administration. So long as we are kind to the Members of the Executive Council, we cannot get Home Rule.

The non-Brahmans movement.

The DHARMASADHANI, of the 1st November, says:--The Secretaary of the ARXYA VAISYA Mahasabha sent a telegram to the Godavari District non-Brahman Conference stating that it had nothing to do with the conference. From this it is plain that the Vaisyas in the Northern Circars will not join the non-Brahman movement. The ANDHRA panchamas are away from it. Kshatriyas do not appear to join it. So, the expressions "the non-Brahman movement and the non-Brahman conferences are meaningless in the Andhra country. If the organisers of the movement still use such expressions, they only betray their

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hatred for the Brahmans.

For the Week ending the 1st December.1917.

60. In the course of an article complaining of the obstacles thrown by the Brahmans in the way of non-Brahmans holding conferences of their own in different parts of the Presidency, the DRAVIDAN, of the 24th November, writes:--In a leaflet published in Salem by the VANDE MATARAM party, they have said that the British Government do not give powers to the Brahman representatives in the Legislative Council, that they reject the bills brought by these representatives and do not pass them, into acts, that they act with partiality in several matters and that they have their own nominees in the Legislative Councils to strengthen their side. Thus several fallacious and false statements have been published. It is also stated that the Government have rejected the proposal of the representatives to introduce a system of compulsory education and thus educate all the children in the country. What a preposterous statement is this? Our readers are well aware of the fact that the Government did organize a small conference a couple of weeks ago, and concerted measures for introducing compulsory education in this Presidency. It is the habit with these Brahman Home Rulers to raise a loud cry only about matters which are already engaging the attention of the Government. If only every Brahman representative is permitted to speak at length in the Legislative Council and the Government grant every request of the Brahmans, perhaps then they will praise the authorities as good administrations. But if they are not allowed to speak as they like, them the Government is a bad one.

The non-Brahmans and Home Rule

O Dravidians, lend not your ears to the words of these false Brahmans. They are born only to dupe us in the guise of friendship. Our indispensable requirement at present is communal representation. Brahman rule is what we do not

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require at any time. The affliction caused to us by the deception practised by these Brahmans will suffice. At present, Home Rule can only be Brahman rule. All their efforts are for nothing but to keep us still in a state of subjection. Those who demand Home Rule are traitors to the country and to the cause of the non-Brahmans, and it will be therefore stupidity on our part to play to the tune of the Homme Rulers.

The Brahmans and non-Brahmans.

103. In an article dwelling on the Brahman-non-Brahman controversy, the SATYAVADI, of the 27th November, writes:--"We do not write with any party feeling. A person to our mind is a Brahman or otherwise according to the life he lives. What was the late Doctor Dadabhai? Why do orthodox Brahman leaders like SRIJUT Tilak call him a "Maharshi" (a great sage)? Why does an orthodox Brahman like Sir Subramanya Ayyar worship Mrs.Besant, a foreign woman, as "Mother Besant"? If space permitted, we could cite many more instances of this kind. Then, what shall we call those who are unable to understand this fact and say: "If India should be granted self-government, the higher administrative posts will all go to the Brahmans. They are very few in number. We form the majority. Therefore we do not want self-government." What patriotism can we credit such people with? Their argument is akin to a person insisting upon an invalid diet for all the inmates of his house, because he himself happens to be unwell. Who was the first to establish a school for the PANCHAMAS? Who was it that moved heaven and earth make primary education free and compulsory in order to help the progress of the backward classes? Whoever failed to welcome luminaries of the type of Sir Sankaran Nayar, Mehta, Ibrahim Rahimtulla, Wacha and Tata? How can we expect more than what we deserve? Even now, we say, let them all come forward and progress as others have progressed: Is it reasonable to say that others shall stand still until they themselves have come to their level?

For the week ending 8th December 1917.

Vilifying Brahmans.

99. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 4th December, says under this heading:--As stated by Sir Alexander Cardew at the meeting of the Dravidian Association, the British Government have given equal opportunities to all classes of people, In the matter of conferring appointments, even partiality has been shown to non-Brahmans. We are at a loss to know why the Brahmans are to blame when the wealthy non-Brahmans fail to use such an opportunity.

The Brahmans and non-Brahmans.

102. In a lengthy leading article referring to Home Rule activities and the Non-Brahmans opposition thereto, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 6th December, writes:--The Brahmans live a holy life of renunciation. They never deserve to be victims at the sacrifices undertaken by the non-Brahmans. If any among the non-Brahmans should seek to victimise them, they will be sure to reap the fruit of their deeds. It is not possible that all non-Brahmans will listen to these (anti-Brahman) advocates and join in the work of sacrificing the Brahmans. We are under the British Government. If any such attempts are made, they will be sure to be checked. If, perchance, the British Government and non-Brahmans should combine to victimise the Brahmans, then the latter will consider what they should do. It is surprising to see some of the non-Brahmans, unable to realise the situation, are ~~trying to see some of the non-Brahmans, unable to realise the situation, are~~ trying to fordo the Brahmans. It is still more surprising to see the Brahmans quite indifferent in the matter. These storms of Brahman hatred do arise from time to time. Some of the personages, like those referred to above, think themselves all-powerful and take upon themselves the task of wiping out the Brahmans. Two hands must meet for a clap. Let them do what they like. Let us remain indifferent. Many Brahmans are thus indifferent, because they think the other party will

give up its campaign of its own accord in disgust. Let ~~us remain indifferent.--~~If all the appointments in the public service go to the non-Brahmans. Let us eke out our livelihood by means of agriculture, trade and industries. Hitherto we had only one string to our bow, namely, the public service. If that should be difficult to obtain in future let us have three more strings to it, namely, agriculture, trade and industries. Let us try to live wherever we can without being subject to hatred by the non-Brahmans. The resolution of the Brahmans to be content to please the non-Brahmans and to live a life of calmness and renunciation goes to show that their extraordinary patience will bring its reward and prevent their coming to grief. It is hardly becoming to the non-Brahmans to indulge in caste and religious hatred. The Brahman is a pauper, a mendicant. He is content to have less than he deserves. It therefore behoves all those who hate the Brahmans to consider whether they are right to do so. If they refuse to consider this point, the Brahmans will be content to think that as men sow so will they reap. The Brahmans have nothing to fear. Let Mr.Basavayya and others do what they life. Let us try to do a good turn to those who would do us harm, or at least fefrain doing them harm in return.

The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, in its issue, of the 7th December, in another article, says:--A big English gentleman writing to the Evening Standard, a European paper, stating that he has lived in India for sixteen years, proceeds to observe that the Brahmans are predominant in this country, and that their power will not diminish, unless all other communities also become educated. It is writings of this kind that are chiefly responsible for the class differences in India. The writer's argument is akin to saying that the British are the wealthiest in the world and therefore their power will not diminish, unless the others also become likewise wealthy. Is there anything to prevent the other nations from preserving likewise and becoming as affluent as the British? So it is with the Brahmans too, in regard to their intellectual advancement.

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For the week ending 15th December 1917.

49. A correspondent ~~x~~of the DRAVIDAN, of the 4th December appeals in the following strain to the non-Brahmans to stand by Rao Bahadur P.Tyagaraya Chettiyar and Dr.T.M.Nayar:--

An appeal to the non-Brahmans

The Brahmans may try to allure us in many ways. They will wait for a favourable opportunity and encourage us. They will give us hopes and dupe us. Do not trust them hereafter.

On every side you see the Brahman authority prepondering and their commiting excesses. They have learnt to rob us of our money and abuse us. They have now ungratefully set up a big agitation against the Government unmindful of the fact that the latter are now engaged in a serious war and are doing everything possible to help us at this juncture. It is we that go to the front and shed our blood. It is we that establish temples, choultries, etc. But it is the Brahmans that are ready to wring money from us on occasions of marriage ~~gaxn~~ or death and other ceremonies. Not content with the profit and influence they gain by this, they are treating us in the worst manner possible.

57. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 8th December, has a leader on the non-Brahman movement in which it traces the orgigin of the movement started by Rao Bahadur P.Tyagaraya Chettiyar and Dr.T.M.Nayar to a long pent-up hatred of the non-Brahmans against the Brahmans on account of the latter having come up in every line and treated the former with scant respect and, dwelling upon how it made the Brahmans change their attitude towards the non-Brahmans, takes exception to the leaders of this movement indulging in an abuse of the Brahmans and eminent leaders like Messrs. Tilak and Gandhi and Mrs.Annie Besant opposing the Congress League scheme of reforms, assisting the Anglo-Indians in their mischievous acts against this country and preaching to the people that Home Rule means Brahman rule. It adds that it is this later phase of the efforts of this non-

The non-Brahman movement.

Brahman movement that necessitated the starting of the Madras Presidency Association ~~xx~~ and appeals to the non-Brahmans to join it in large numbers.

The non-Brahman movement.

The ANDHRAPARTIKA, of the 5th December, says:--Certain people, who do not ~~xx~~ wish the welfare of the country, have set about opposing the work of our leaders just at a time when that work is about to yield fruit. Why is this? The public could not know~~x~~ the reason. It is confidential, It is If it is disclosed, the secret will be out. Only a few of the old leaders know that great secret. They will not disclose it. They have to hide it and publish other reasons. As Anglo-Indians like Mr.Welby appear to be confidential advisers to these old leaders, it is to be inferred that do not bear mention cannot be disclosed, this may be mentioned as a ~~xxxx~~ true cause of this movement. Seeing that the Home Rule propaganda is spreading all over the country, and fearing that their gains and comforts may be affected, these Anglo-Indians, it may be stated with certainty, have prevailed upon certain Indians whose minds are confused and have ~~xx~~ begun to play the part of opponents. . . . Thus the Anglo-Indians, who are our opponents have been able to set on foot temporarily a movement tending to obstruct the progress of the country. Since the beginning of the rule of the East India Company, they have not only been enjoying comforts which do not fall to the share of MAHARAJAS and PADUSHAWS, but ~~Indian articles to~~ they are also wont to take large sums of money with them. They have sent Indian articles to foreign lands and have become millionaires. Like the milkman of Madras, who muzzles the calf, starves it, milks the cow and sells the milk, these people have become accustomed to impoverish the Indians and use everything for their own gain. In short, they have begun to look upon India as their heritage. So they have been devising ever so many expedients to oppose all the demands of the Indians for freedom. The first is to condemn all those who desire reforms for the good of the country as sedition-mongers.

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Another strange device is to send false news to the people of England. To represent to those who are prone to believe them, that the Indians are like brutes and are unfit for self-government is another. . . . In the past the Anglo-Indians created enmity between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. But they now gave up that attempt and have caught some non-Brahmans in their trap.

59. The DRAVIDABHIMANI, of the 30th November, accuses the Brahmans and a few non-Brahmans of Salem of actively trying to thwart the holding of the proposed non-Brahmanx Conference there on the 8th and the 9th Nx December 1917, and appeals to the non-Brahmans to make united efforts to successfully hold the conference whatever the impediments and obstacles may bex in x the way, without being allured by the deceitful tactics of the Brahmans whom this paper charges with having divided the people by the institution of the caste system, based on false legends about the superiority of one class over another by birth.

The Brahmans and non-Brahmans

The DRAVIDAN, of the 5th December, writes:--Our readers would have clearly understood that the hatred of the Brahmans is the cause of this movement. It is a matter know to all that the Brahmans in olden days lived upon the alms given by us, and are doing the same even now. When the Brahmans of those days grew degenerate, they began to think meanly of their profession and, growing jealous of us, learnt the English language and progressed therein. They gave up their Brahmanic principles altogether and began to wander about mad after money. What else could they do who had never seen money? But even now when they have amassed money and are in a prosperous condition, the old jealousy for the non-Brahman has not left them.

The Brahmans and non-Brahmans

60. The DRAVIDAN, of the 8th December, also publishes in Tamil the the xxxxx presidential address delivered at this con-

The Salem District Non-Brahman conference.

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Please include this para after ~~xxx~~ the 58th para on the page 44.

Communal representation.

58. The VAISYAMITRAN, of the 19th November, refers to the demand now made by the several communities in India for separate representaxtion for each of them in the Legislative Councils; and remarks:--If the numerous communities in India seek to send their representatives to those councils, the existing councils will become as crowded as a big congress. When the question of communal representation was referred to some leading non-Brahmans for opinion in 1907, men like the Maharaja of Bibbili the Raja of Kollegode and Mr.Rajaratna Mudaliyar, were against it, and the local Government as well as the Revenue Board also approved ~~xx~~ of this view then. Even now the number of non-Brahmans in the local bodies is sufficiently large and there is no necessity for us to demand sexparate representation. Our enemies are only awaiting such a demand from us to demonstrate to the authorities that we have no union among as. And again, if communal representation is granted, each community will look only to its own interests. So we implore our countrymen to avoid creating factions among us at this juncture, when our enemies, for fear that our object may be gained, are setting up several pleas, such as that the time has not yet come for us to have Home Rule and that all of us should become educated before we can have it, and to stand united in laying before the Secretary of State for India the scheme of reforms drafted by the Congress and the Muslims League.

ference by Mr.Durai Raja of Pudukkottai as appearing in the JUSTICE of the same date.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 8th December, also publishes in Tamil the gist of the above address, and comments upon it in the following strain:--Mr.Durai Raja says that we are not fit for Home Rule now, He speaks as if he is unaware of the fact that what we demand now is not Home Rule but only reforms which would lead to it. He observes that those who exercise the right of voting should be educated men having a knowledge of worldly affairs. Let him read the histories of Canada, Australia New Zealand and other countries, and see if the people of those countries had the qualifications described by him when they were granted the right of voting. He regrets that Brahmans predominate in Government service. Did the Brahmans prevent the non-Brahmans from getting appointments? He admits that the Government ~~prevent the non-Brahmans from getting~~ plead want of funds for spreading education. If the control of the purse is in the hands of the popular representatives, will it not be possible to spread education widely? Eventually, he approves of the Congress scheme with slight modifications. The majority of the nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council, who first drafted this scheme, are non-Brahmans. They treated all Indians alike and demanded that the Indians as a class should have a larger number of seats in the Councils of the Empire. As Mr.Durai Raja and others are imbued with a feeling of caste hatred, they create numerous divisions among Indians.

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 10th December, also refers to the speech of Mr.Durai Raja and quoting extracts from the past utterances of Messrs.Dadhabai Naoroji and Gokhale to disapprove the statement of Mr.Durai Raja that these two eminent patriots were against the scheme of reforms embodied in the memorandum of the nineteen, expresses its regret at one, who was born in a royal family, foregetting his magnanimity as a Kshatriya and declaring that India is not fit for SWARAJ.

A correspondent, writing to the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 10th

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Decemberп gives an abstract of the proceedings of a public meeting at held at Salem on the 6th idem under the auspices of the local branch of the Madras Presidency Association, when Messrs, P.Kandaswami Pillai and S.C.Venkatapayya Chettiyar are said to have addressed the audience at length on the rights of non-Brahmans and the Congress League scheme of reforms.

A non-Brahman meeting at Salem.

89. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 10th December, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, an abstract of the proceedings of a non-Brahman meeting held at Peiriyakulam on the 3rd instant, at which one Hanumanta Rao appears to have addressed the audience on the necessity of each community among the Indians of having national education, the hardships to which the people are subject on account of their not being able to advance for want of education, the present political situation and the advantages of Home Rule.

A non-Brahman meeting at Periyakulam.

103. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 8th December, says in its leader:--In England there were twenty lakhs of students goiing to schoolx in 1840. While there are on the whole one crore and sixty lakhs of educated men in India, it is an anomaly to say that the time has not come to begin self-government in India. In 1835, there were only three xxx per cent of the population of England qualified to vote for members of the Parliament. In our presidency there are more than thirty lakhs of people qualified to vote. This is three times the number of voters that existed in England at the time when the Reform Bill was passed. This number cannot be said to be small. The English educated among them is only very few. So if self-government prevails, it cannot go into the hands of the educated. Under such circumstances, it is untrue to say that the Brahmans will usurp all the authority of Government themselves. The bureaucratic party have been attempting to spread this falsehood ~~deration, the non-Brahmans enjoy~~ not only in India,

Brahmans.

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but also in England. Taking the present numbers into consideration, thenon-Brahmans enjoy more extensive rights of election and hold a greater number of offices than the Brahmans. So the surmise that after the grant of self-government, the Brahmans will wield all authority is groundless. Under sxelf-government, the authority of the non-Brahmans will increase and as the number of those qualified to vote among them is greater, the whole authority will devolve on them. . . From the speech of the Hon'ble Mr.Sarma, the authority of the meaningless to say that if self-government is granted, the authority of the Brahmans will prevail and that the educated will act against the interests of the masses.

For the week ending the 22nd December 1917.

The Salem District non-Brahmans conference.

43. The DRAVIDAN, in its issues of the 11th and 13th December publishes in Tamil the concluding proceedings of, and the resolutions passed at, this conference, both of which appear in the JUSTICE of the 10th idem.

The Salem non-Brahman Conference.

The ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 10th December, says:--The President of the Salem non-Brahmans Conference stated that the Home Rule movement was a Brahman movement, that if Home Rule were granted it would be a Brahman rule, and that the Brahmans would squeeze the non-Brahmans all the more. . . . We assert that the speech of the President deserves great praise.

The condition of the Punchamas

51. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 13th December, publishes a communication from a correspondent in which he says that the Adi Dravida Mahajana Sabha, which now poses to be the organ of the depressed classes, is only a recent institution started by a few of last 30 years and which had the honour of presenting an address to Sir Arthur Havelock; and that the new association is a creature of the Chetti-Nayar clique, and, dwelling at length upon the various parties among the Panchamas themselves

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and the way in which the educated few among them treat their illiterate brethren, concludes that there is no hope for this community, unless the Government introduce compulsory education in their case.)

For the week ending the 29th December, 1917.

30. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th December, publishes, in Tamil, from the pen of its own correspondent, the substance of the lectures said to have been delivered by Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu at meetings held at Tuticorin on the 11th, 13th and 14th idem under the auspices of the local branch of the Madras Presidency Association, in which the following observations occur:--English historians have omitted some important points in their work. The Englishmen, who came here first for purposes of trade, gradually acquired territories. They followed the principle of "Divide and rule" for gaining the latter object. They annexed Native States on the ground that there were no proper heirs to them. .. . . It is nonentities who never interfered in public affairs till now, people who have the empty title of zamindars with no zamins and Rajas with no kingdoms and landholders who are unable to redeem their property under mortgage that now oppose the scheme prepared by the Congress which has been in existence for the last thirty years.

A non-Brahman meeting at Tuticorin.

33. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th December, reproduces in Tamil the protest of Professor K.Ramamurti against the action of the Madras Government in disallowing the deputation of the Andhra Conference and the Madras Presidency Association, as it appears in NEW INDIA of the same date.

Rejected addresses.

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PLEASE INCLUDE THIS PAGE AFTER THE 49th Page.

34. The DRAVIDABHIMANI, of the 14th December, reproduces in Tamil the presidential speech of Mr.K.S.Durai Raja of Pudukkottai at this Conference.

The Salem District Non-Brahman Conference.x

A correspondent contributes a long article to the DRAVIDAN, of the 17th December, refuting the comments of the SWADESAMITRAN of the 8th idem on the speech of Mr.K.S.Durai Raja abstracted in paragraph 68 of the Report No.50 of 1917, in the course of which he makes the following observations:--No intelligent man will deny that there is a great difference between the Congress in the time of the late Mr.Gokhale and that held last year, under the guidance of Mrs.Besant, whose views have been changing ever and anon to suit the times. That is why Mr.Durai Raja said that the views embodied ~~and~~ in the memorandum of the nineteen were not accepted by the~~late~~ late Mr.Gokhale and others. As ~~as~~for the remark that what ~~were~~ the Home Rulers demand is only reforms which form the basis for Home Rule, it was stated by the Hon'ble Mr.V.S.Srinivasa Sastri at a meeting, as reported in the Swadesamitran, of the 20th November 1917, that gradual Home Rule~~x~~ was not wanted and Mr.L.A.Govindaraghava Ayyar, who presided at the meeting, observed that the people should not be satisfied with the grant of a few reforms and thatt complete liberty should be demanded. When Mrs.Besant and the two gentlemen noted above want complete Home Rule and the SWADESAMITRAN says that it is only the basic reforms leading to Home Rule that are sought, how can Mr.Durai Raja make out the correct view of the Home Rulers? There is no use in comparing Australia, Newzealand and other countries with India in determining the fitness of the people to exercise the right of voting. The editor of the SWADESAMITRAN cannot be unaware of the fact that there are not as many divisions of caste and creed in the colonies as exist in India and that there are not in the colonies, which are advanced in culture and worldly experience, people of the type of the Indians, who signed Mr.Gandhi's petition in lakhs, without knowing what it contained and to curry favour with

~~officials for the view of the~~

others. As for the view of the SWADESAMITRAN that the Brahmans do not prevent the non-Brahmans from gettigg appointments, they cannot do so under the British Rule. But what they do is to take only Brahmans wherever they happen to be in power, and thus keep our the non-Brahmans. The remark of the SWADESAMITRAN that, if the popular representatives get the control of the purse, education can be spread, is funny indeed! First of all, there arises a doubt as to who should be regarded as popular representatives, It is only those of the type of Mrs.Besant, the mother of the Brahman world, Dr.Sri S.Subramanya Ayyar and Mr.C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar. If these get the control of the purse, nothing need be said of the kind of educational progress the non-Brahmans will have. Instead of moving forward, they will begin to move backward.

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62. The ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 14th December, says:--

The Brahmans and the non-Brahmans.

The population of our Presidency is four crores and fifteen lakhs. Of this the non-brahmans number four crores and the Brahmans, fifteen lakhs. It is the non-Brahmans that cultivate crops and supply food to the people.. . . . The Brahmans exercise authority over them, and are determined to keep them in slavery. . . The people hope that the Government will not any more look with indifference on the machinations of the Brahmans, who are solicitous to keep down the intelligent non-Brahmans. We pray that the Government will not bring disaster to the non-Brahmans by giving the Brahmans complete authority.

In an article giving a summary of the President's speech at a conference of non-Brahmans at Tinnevelly, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 15th December writes:--The president Mr. Joseph is a European and has been very earnest and straightforward in his speech. In his scheme of communal representation, out of 60 electorates he proposes 6 for Brahmans. Although there may be 60 electorates and a hundred representatives to be elected by them, the electors will vote only for those whom they think capable of representing them. Even the 6 out of the 60 electorates for Brahmans are too many considering their number. This concession, therefore, seems to us too liberal. If we consider the strength of the Brahmans in relation to the total population, they might be entitled to 2 out of the 60. It would be well to come to a reasonable settlement of the respective rights of all communities and to promote mutual good-will.

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NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT

MADRAS NEWSPAPER REPORTS. FOR THE YEAR 1918--January to June

For the week ending the 5th January 1918.

53. The NARADAN, of the 26th December, refutes the arguments of those non-Brahmans who say that Home Rule means Brahman rule and, remarking that the cry of these people against the grant of Home Rule will affect the welfare of the country prejudicially and that if the non-Brahmans are lagging behind in every respect, while the Brahmans have gone up, it is only due to want of union and effort on their part, appeals to them to emulate and not envy the Brahmans in their progress and try to improve their own condition without obstruction the Home Rule movement.

Non-Brahmans and Home Rule

58. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 27th December, repeats its attack upon some non-Brahmans in Madras, who lead an anti-Home Rule agitation and, levelling against them the charge of being led by the Anglo-Indians, refers to the proposed non-Brahman Confederation, and observes:--These pseudo-patriots are envious of the successful way in which the Madras Special Provincial Conference was held and want to hold a nominal conference themselves, lest the Government should think that they have no support. They have got hold of some zamindars, with whose names to allure the ordinary people and some papers to advertise their names frequently. Let them note that, however much they may try, they cannot deceive the Government and the intelligent among the people.

The South Indian non-Brahman Confederation.

The SWADESAMITRAN, and the DRAVIDAN, of the 28th December, and the NARADAN, of the 26th idem, reproduce in Tamil the speech delivered by Rao Bahadur P.Thyagaraya Chettiyar as Chairman of the Reception Committee of this Confederation, while the DRAVIDAN, of the 28th idem and the DESABHAKTAN, of the 29th and 31st idem, publish in Tamil the speech of the President, the Maharaja of Venkatagiri. The other proceedings of this confede-

ration are also published in the SWADESAMITRAN, and the Dravidan of the 29th idem. The whole proceedings appear in the HINDU of the 28th and 29th December 1917.

The non-Brahman confederation

The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 28th December, refers to the non-Brahman Confederation held in Madras, and Says:--The organisers of the non-Brahmans movement have joined the ~~Align~~ Anglo-Indians and are vilifying the patriots. They have trushed aside all decency in abusing the national movement. They have reviled all those who are, at present, Brahmans by brith, for the caste differences which had their origin in the KRITA YUGA. They have proved to be worse abusers than the Anglo-Indians, who have at least some interests at stake. Their abuse is altogether groundless.

For the week ending the 12th January 1918.

The non-Brahman Confederation

43. A correspondent to the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 3rd January, says:--It is the opinion of the Hon'ble Mr.Chidambaranatha Mudaliyar that the condition of the non-Brahmans will not really improve until India gets self-government and until authority is vested in the hands of the representatives of the people. . . . Some zamindars attended the non-Brahman confederation ~~of the~~ not for the benefit of the ryots but perhaps for being praised by the rulers. . . . Political economists like Sir William Wedderburn, Mr.Dadabhai Naoroji, etc., have stated that our markets being flooded by foreign manufactures and our handicrafts having declined, our workmen are all subject to famine; that crores of money are leaving this country every year in the shape of the value of foreign articles, the big salaries of Europeans, pensions, and interest on debt contracted by the Government of India for purposes which are unprofitable to the Indians, that on account of this, poverty is on the increase and that great reforms have to be made in the administration Our bureaucracy will not admit this. We do not know if the Raja

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of Venkatagiri read any science of economy. . . Can there be greater selfish men thanc those who have, at the present juncture, given up all thought of the country's welfare, joined the Europeans, vilified the patriots in order to gain the praise of the Europeans, and say that the people do not require any privileges?. . . The Raja said that the non-Brahmans were grateful to the British Government for the freedom from the Brahmanical yoke that they now enjoy. Perhaps the non-Brahmans are grateful to Europeans for the encouragement that the South Indian people's Association received at their hands.

The non-Brahman conference.

In the course of lengthy leading article extolling the presidential address of Mr. Lodd Govind Doss at a non-Brahman Conference and also the speeches of the others who took part in it, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 31st December, proceeds to dilate upon the advantages of having a Government responsible to the people, and says:--If the Government fails to make a judicious use of the taxes paid by us, or is lavish in its expenditure, the revenue proves insufficient and we have to pay more. The administration cannot go on unless we pay. The necessary funds have to be forced out of the people. We have to pay the penalty. The very officers who have risen to high position by our feeding them are apt to kick us. To avoid all these untoward results, it is our duty to see that the revenue paid by us to Government is being judiciously expended. In England this control over the Cabinet is exercised by the people through their representatives in Parliament. This system is called Home Rule This is what the Congress and the Muslim League demand as indispensable to the progress of the country. This is what, in effect the speakers at the non-Brahman Conference too asked for, when they said that the executive should be subject to the control of the Legislative Council. We heartily congratulate them on the breadth of mind they have displayed there and we trust that all differences between the Brahmans and non Brahmans will disappear.

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54. [The ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 20th December, says:--

The non-Brahman movement and the Government.

Mr-Kasturiranga Ayyangar as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Madras Provincial Conference stated that the Government were at the bottom of the non-Brahman movement. It is well known that the advocates of the Home Rule movement are bent on vilifying the Government knowingly or unknowingly. Wherever they find any associations opposed to their views, they trace their origin to the Government. They say anything to gain their object. They have no respect for truth. They are unsurpassed in accusing others. They say that the non-Brahman movement is due to the instigation of the Government. The Government will not be afraid of such statements.]

For the week ending the 19th January 1918.

46. The DRAVIDAN, of the 4th January, culls from the JUSTICE of the 31st December 1917 a portion of the second day's proceedings of this confederation.

The non-Brahman Confederation.

The DRAVIDAN, ~~ofxthe~~ in its issues of the 5th, 7th, 8th and 10th January, reproduces in Tamil certain speeches delivered at this confederation which recently met at Madras. These speeches appear in the JUSTICE of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th idem

The South Indian non-Brahman Confederation.

113. A correspondent to the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 10th January, says:--The Congress League reforms have met with the approval of the whole of India. The bureaucratic government in this country is full of British officials, and so justice is not obtained. There can be ~~more~~ none in this system of bureaucratic Government who can represent the people. This evil cannot be obviated till this bureaucratic Government is replaced by Govt. by the people. Certain non-Brahmins and Anglo-Indians who are opposed to the grant of freedom have been telling that if at present India is granted self-government the British

The non-Brahmans.

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bureaucracy will be replaced by Brahman bureaucracy. . . .

For the week ending the 26th January 1918.

The non-Brahman and Home Rule

105. A correspondent to the NARADAN, of the 16th January, condemn the campaign of a few against the Home Rule movement on the ground that if Home Rule is granted it will practically be a Brahman rule, and appealing to them to give up their hatred of the Brahmans and serve the cause of the country, says:--Friends! Think of the greatness of our past and our present poor condition. The Anglo-Indians deem us to be brutes. A white, who is inferior to us in wealth, education and status, commands us. Alas! Pity indeed. Should we suffer like this? In the Railway carriages they have a separate compartment. In the hospitals, a separate ward and even in jails, special conveniences. Oh, sons of Bharata! Do you not feel for all this? If we get Home Rule, will they treat us like that?

The Non-Brahman movement.

131. The ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 9th January, has the following:--Mr. Wadia has said in the Congress at Calcutta that the non-Brahman movement has won the patronage of the Government. We wish to know on what authority he has said so.

For the week ending the 2nd February 1918.

Non-Brahmans, Home Rule and the Madras Government.

6. JUSTICE, of the 1st February, writes:--"It is the fashion with some of the Home Rulers to endeavour to propagate the untruth that the non-Brahman movement is wirepulled by the officials. The non-Brahmans form the bulk of the population of this presidency, they are its mainstay, its backbone, its life and blood, and their attitude towards the British Government has been one of intense loyalty, gratitude and devotion. In these troublous times, with the enemy at the gate, far from wavering in their allegiance and faithfulness, the non-Brahmans have gathered round the Union Jack and have been doing their best to support the authority and prestige

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of the British Government. For these several reasons their political interests must be the first and foremost consideration of the Government. . . . What do we find? Could the Madras Government say that they have no responsibility for the subordinate and insignificant political position the non-Brahmans occupy today and for the commanding political position the Brahmans have been holding? The talk about superior qualifications is allmoonshine, mere verbiage, unmitigated nonsense. . . . Has the non-Brahman movement produced any appreciable change in the situation? We regret to have to confess that so far as the attitude of the Madras Government is concerned we have been helpless, so much so that we feel we are right in saying that we have to reckon not only with the active hostility of the Home Rulers but with the studied indifference of the Madras Government which, while it has been an indirect obstacle to our progress, has been a real source of strength to our enemies. What has recently been done by the Local Government in connection with certain recent high appointments and smaller appointments in the Secretariat and the letters that we have been publishing about the attitude of some of the European officials in the mufassal towards non-Brahmans and their claims for preferment and promotion prove the truth of our statement. In a matter like this we can only ask for justice being done, and we shall continue to do our duty in spite of disappointment, calumny and ridicule.

"Let the Home Rulers inwardly exult though outwardly they try assiduously to circulate the lie, the black, the unmitigated the unblushing lie, that we are wirepulled by the Government. They know that for practical purposes the Madras Government is on their side. Perhaps Mrs.Besant knew the truth when she said in her own way that the Government is afraid of the Brahmans. Let the Home Rulers and the Madras Government do what they please. We have faith in the innate sense of British justice, and we shall, if we continue to fail here, appeal for justice to the highest quarter?"

126. The ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 18th January has the following under this heading:--

Brahman selfishness.

Mr. Neti Venkatasomayajulu Pantulu, the non-Official president of the Rajahmundry Taluk Board, ordered that ghee and buttermilk need not be supplied to the non-Brahman travellers that halt in the two choultries which are in his jurisdiction. But Diwan Bahadur Duriseti Seshagiri Rao Pantulu, the non-official President of the Godavari District Board, modified the Taluk Board President's order and ordered that the non-Brahman travellers may be supplied with buttermilk only. . . . The first gentleman decided that ghee and buttermilk were not necessary for non-Brahmans at meals. The second gentleman decided that ghee was not necessary, but buttermilk must be given them. Both ~~the~~ are experienced ~~p~~ pleaders. What lesson is taught by these two decisions? The first is that the Brahmans have not still left their selfishness, as they would have us believe. The second is that if complete Home Rule is given at this time, the Brahmans will appropriate all the powers and deceive the non-Brahmans and that ~~before~~ therefore complete Home Rule will be of no use.

For the week ending the 9th February 1918.

9. In an article under the heading "Still They come", JUSTICE, of the 7th February, observes:--"We see that the

Brahmans in the Madras Legislative Council.

Madras Government have added one more Brahman vakil to the Legislative Council to the already long list of Brahman vakils who have taken possession ~~of being able to~~ of that assembly. Ever since the Madras Government were placed in a position of being able to distribute patronage, the Brahmans have little by little captured the Madras Government. They have for a very long time been stewing in Brahmanical juice, and perhaps now find it difficult to get out of the mess into which they have been drawn subtly but steadily. Since the Besant-Brahman combination began to kick at the Madras Government they have made some feeble

efforts to get out of the clutches of their Brahman masters, but the effect so far has been insignificant. . . As the Besant-Brahman combination gets stronger the Madras Government seem to be getting weaker. Possibly, so far as the Madras Government are concerned there is no shot left in the locker. They cannot get on, apparently, without Brahmans in the Executive Council, in the Legislative Council and in the Secretariat. How complete the Government surrender to the Brahmans is evidenced by this appointment of a Brahman vakil to help them, in spite of opposition, to get through the Legislative Council, the Irrigation cess Bill. In a few days we hope to be able to point out another instance which will demonstrate with equal force the fact, which is apparent to every body in Madras, that the Madras Government have still to dance to the piping of their Brahmans colleagues. Of late the Madras Government have not exactly covered themselves with glory, and their discomfiture is mainly due to the efforts of the Brahman-Besant combination. At this rate we do not think that the self-respect of the Madras Government can last for any length of time. The Brahmans make no secret of their objective. They want to take the place of the British bureaucracy. In spite of this objective being quite clear to the Madras Government, the resistance they offer to the Brahman invaders seems to be exceedingly feeble."

<u>For the week ending the 16th February 1918</u>.

6. The MALABAR HERALD, of the 9th February, says:--

JUSTICE of Madras.

"JUSTICE of Madras which has become one of the powerful members of the 'Fourth Estate', celebrates its first anniversary on the 26th instant. It is no exaggeration when we say that our contemporary has done excellent service in thwarting the ambitious designs of a Brahman oligarchy; and had it not been for the influence it has exercised in bringing home to those concerned the real political needs of the Indian

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masses, an infinitesimally small clique of political agitators would have had their own way in undoing the good that has been done by the British Rule. There fore, in recognition of the service JUSTICE has rendered, our contemporary deserves congratulations from all those who sympathise with its noble object, and for our part we wish our contemporary a long lease of useful life."

For the week ending the 23rd February 1918.

106. A correspondent to the DHARMASADHANI, of the February, denounces the practice of excluding the PANCHAMAS from the streets of the Brahman AGRAHARAMS, and requests the Government to call for lists of such agraharams and inquire into the matter.

Panchamas and agraharams.

For the week ending the 2nd March 1918

3. In a brief review of the first year's work of the South Indian People's Association, JUSTICE, of the 27th February, ~~write~~ writes:--"We now know that when we carry our political campaign to England what we have to fight against is Tilakism and all that Mr.B.G.Tilak stands for in Indian politics. It is the combination of Besantism and Tilakism in Indian politics and Brahminism as enunciated in the Varnasrama Dharmas in the region of social questions that we have to fight against the future. We are ready. We are determined that this time it shall be a fight to the finish. There shall be no incomplete peace. If the British public prefer to accept the Indian view of political questions from Mr.Tilak and Mrs.Besant that is their eyes open. If the British electors and the British political ~~shall do so with their eyes~~ leaders, after hearing both sides, decide to accept the notice given to them by Mrs. Besant to evacuate India within ten years we shall have nothing further to say to them except to make a request that the evacuation shall be complete. In that case we shall have to make

The proposed non-Brahman deputation to England.

~~a request that the evacuation shall be complete. In that case~~ we shall have to make other oarrangements here to meet the new situation. In any case we are prepared for all emergencies, and we begin our second year's work with determination and confidence."

For the week ending the 13th April 1918.

The Tanjore-Trichinopoly Non-Brahman Conference.

28. The DRAVIDAN, of the 2nd April, publishes in Tamil a further portion of the speech of the president of this conference.

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 2nd April, comments on this conference in the following strain:--We would not call this conferrence a "Non-Brahman" Conference for such conferences only reflect the greatest discredit on the Non-Brahmans themselves. Have these conferences been of any use? The money spent on them may, with advantage, be utilised in other directions.

Coming to the speech of the president of the conference, the SOUTH INDIAN TIGER says that the British Government themselves should decide when and how we are to progress. This is quite contrary to the view of all people versed in politics that we should ourselves set right our path. His statement that we do not know our condition and that others know it better is strange indeed. But every one knows ~~our condition and that~~ what experience the Singampatti Zamindar has of politics. He objects to the demand for responsible government. But what we demand is not responsible government, but facilities to acquire the same. Without understanding the object of the Home Rulers, some people make some haphazard statements.

The Tanjore-Trichinopoly Non-Brahman Conference.

The DRAVIDAN reproduces in its issues of the 4th, 5th and 6th April, further portions in Tamil of the proceedings of this Conference held at Tanjore.

For the week ending the 20th April 1918.

The Tanjore-Trichinopoly Non-Brahman Conference.

45. The DRAVIDAN reproduces in its issues of the 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th April the further portions of the proceedings of this conference referred to in paragraph 69 of Report No.14 of 1918.

A public meeting at Tanjore.

The NARADAN, of the 11th April, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent the proceedings of a public meeting held at Tanjore on the 7th idem to protest against the order of the Government prohibiting Mr.Tilak and his party from proceeding to England wherein a resolution is also said to have been passed to that effect that the people of Tanjore district fully approve of the policy of passive resistance now adopted in the Kaira district and are prepared to adopt the same policy, and that it is a constitutional means.

For the week ending the 11th May 1918.

Brahmans and non-Brahmans.

84. In the course of a comparison between the relative merits of Brahmans and non-Brahmans the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA of the 2nd May, dwells on the influence wielded by each class and says:--The non-Brahmans pay greater revenue, are a source of strength to the empire and form the major portion of the population. They are the soldiers. If the Brahmans intend to do anything that is improper, the non-Brahmans can stop that whether they have the help of the Government or not. The non-Brahmans do not want Home Rule. The Brahmans already override them, and if they help the Brahmans, they will be injuring themselves. The Home Rule movement has been started to obstruct the advancement of the non-Brahmans. . . The non-Brahmans are influential and strong-built, and they supply forces to carry on the war. They will not keep idle. . . It is the duty of the people to stop political agitation and help the rulers.

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A correspondent to the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 2nd May,

Brahmans and non-Brahmans.

says:--All our hardship is due to the so-called Brahmans, and not the English. It is the Brahmans that are guilty or corruption and exaction. They venture to attribute all wrongs to the English, being guilty of them themselves. Why could not the Brahmans who make such fuss here go to Malabar and put an end to the wrongs done by Brahmans and others there? It is foolish to say that the English are doing wrong. We submit that the rulers should not pay heed to the clamour of the Brahmans. It is the non-Brahmans that help the rulers in every way.

For the week ending the 18th May 1918.

5. JUSTICE, of the 11th May, observes:--"When the present

The Government of Madras and Brahmans.

writer was at Delhi a few days ago one of the members of the Government of India gave it to him as his deliberate opinion that the Madras Government had always been a Brahman Government and in all probability would continue to be so for ever and ever. The present writer felt that the member of the Government of India was speaking the truth so far as the past was concerned, but had not clairvoyant powers enough to see whether his prophecies about the future were correct. . . . The present writer returned to Madras from Delhi and was told that the Madras Government had nominated Mr.N.C.Rajagopala Achariyar of the Madras Times as one of the trustees of the Port of Madras. The information of the member of the Government of India was already being substantiated. Mr.N.C.Rajagopala Achariyar is a versatile Brahman. He is conversant with many aspects of modern human activities. But we never knew that he was an expert in shipping matters. Under the extraordinary circumstances of the times in which we are living, he may have developed nautical tendencies. Who knows? But whether he had developed into an expert in matters connected with shipping or not, the preponderance of Brahmanical

influence in the Madras Government had to be asserted and the best available nautical Brahman had to be selected. . . We have often wondered why Brahmans in this Presidency are so anxious for self-government when they practically have attained control over the Madras Government. . . The Brahmanical progress in Madras continues satisfactorily. We mean satisfactorily from the Brahmanical point of view. Mr.Rajagopala Achariyar will no doubt be appointed Controller of shipping when the Indian ship-building programme is completed by the Government of India. . . The Madras Government can proceed in this direction with all the greater confidence as all their Brahmanical investments in the past have turned up trumps. They discovered a Brahman gentleman in Madura years ago, brought him up to Madras as Public Prosecutor, elevated him to the High Court Bench later on and showered on him all the honours they could think of, made him Chief Justice "frequently" made him a Knight Commander of the Indian Empire and bestowed many other honours too numerous for us to remember. The Madras Government have had their reward. Their Brahmanical chickens have come home to roost, and the letter to President Wilson with its many complimentary sentiments about the British Government in India is the result. . . We wish the Madras Government all happiness with their Brahman friends in their endeavour to create a new Indian Army. Perhaps the Brahmans having helped the Madras Government in creating an army, could make the reasonable demand of having a Brahman Commander-in-Chief for the Army. It will not be like the Madras Government to decline this demand. Already they have a high Brahman personage whose experience in connexion with organisation of the Indian Defence Force may make him eligible to be Commander-in-Chief, or at all events to the command of the Southern Army. The work of manufacturing munitions must naturally be entrusted to the Brahman official who has, on more than one occasion, displayed his capacity for organising exhibitions."

71. The ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 4th May, says:--The Brah-

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mans are trying to please us temporarily, but they will never admit us into their fold. The non-Brahman movement will open the eyes of the non-Brahmans. It will publish the injustice done to the non-Brahmans in every office and society and try to obviate such evil.

The non-Brahman movement.

For the week ending the 25th May 1918.

33. The DRAVIDAN, of the 17th May, complains that the Madras Government have greater confidence in the capacity off the Brahmans than in that of the non-brahmans in every matter and, referring to the active steps that are being taken by the non-Brahmans in the matter of recruitment of men for the army, suggests that the Government should co-operate with the non-Brahman representatives and adds that recruitment will be easy only if some representatives of each class are nominated to attend to the work and that, if the Madras Government behave in a manner calculated to make a difference between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans, the work of recruitment may become difficult too.

Recruits and non-Brahmans.

75. The ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 13th May, refers to the nomination of Rao Bahadur N.C.Rajagopala Achariyal as a Trustee of the Madras Port and says:-- A high officer told Doctor Nayar that in Madras the Brahmans were and would continue to be most influential. This had proved to be a fact. Mr. Acharyulu may be well-versed in many worldly matters, but we do not know if he is proficient in sea trade. That the Government could not find other men than he, betrays their partiality to the Brahmans. The Government will carry this partiality to its logical conclusion if they appoint Mr.G.A. Natesan, the proprietor of the INDIAN REVIEW, and Mr.Kasturiranga Ayyangar, the proprietor of HINDU, as members of the proposed resource committee, and man-power committee respectively, We,

The influence of the Brahmans.

of course, do not grudge that the Madras Government are partial to Brahmans. Whoever may be the big officials, it is enough if the country does not meet with any harm. There is no fear if the Government carry on their administration bearing in mind how the Brahman, Dr. Sir S.Subramania Ayyar, who enjoyed all honours, has revolted. If the rulers can get their recruits from the Brahmans for us. We submit that at least when the Brahmans shun the war, the rulers should look upon the non-Brahmans with kindness.

Home Rule and non-Brahman movement.

97. The ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 20th May, reports the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Guntur District non-Brahman conference to have said that viewed from any standpoint, the non-Brahmans movement also was helping on the advent of SWARAJ, and that the Home Rule movement and the non-Brahman movement had the same goal in view. . . When the non-Brahmans come up to the level of Brahmans, Home Rule will certainly come even though India does not want it.

For the week ending the 1st June 1918.

Brahman influence.

97. The ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 28th May, refers to the rumour that hereafter certain high posts which the English hold will be held by the Hindus, that Brahman Governors will be appointed for Madras and Burma and that the Madras Government will continue to be a Brahman Government, and to that remarks of the Dravidian Patriot thereon published in the JUSTICE and informs the Dravidian Patriot that such a thing is an impossibility and will never happen.

THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT.

MADRAS NEWSPAPER REPORTS, JULY TO DECEMBER 1918.

For the week ending the 6th July 1918.

Communal representation.

50. Regarding the question of communal representation, the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 26th June, writes:--. . . There is no wonder in Brahmans gaining influence with the Government by pleasing the non-Brahmans with sweet words and assigning to them the management of other worldly affairs than education which they have taken upon themselves. . . But the influence of the Brahmans with the Government does not seem to decrease, since it has been deeprooted for nearly the last fifty years. On the other hand, it appears to be increasing day after day. Landlords and merchants will continue to have representation as at present. What strange words! If the MAILS version comes off true, we may say that the ideal of the non-Brahmans has not at all received the consideration it deserves from the Government. . . It is not those time-servers and hypocrites who vainly calling themselves loyalists and patriots create unnecessary disturbances and in the country and spoil the minds of the people that get the approbation of those both (the Viceroy and Mr.Montagu). . . To examine well the circumstances of the country, to follow the opinion of the people, to administer the country so that nothing could disturb its peace and security, to introduce timely reforms after a close discrimination of right from wrong are the duties of good statesmen. . . If what the MAIL says about communal representation is true, then we cannot but say that Mr.Montagu and His Excellency the Viceroy have allowed their reputation for righteousness to be stained. If no steps are taken about this matter, there will be no limit to the discontent of the non-Brahmans. . . If this communal representation is not granted to us, we do not want any reform at all. . .

Communal representation.

Under this heading, the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the29th June, writes:--. . . If what the

MADRAS MAIL has recently written is true, it is quite clear that neither the Secretary of State, nor His Excellency the Viceroy has made any recommendation about communal representation. . . The Viceroy was caught in the trap of Mr.Montagu, and walked in the foot-steps of his companion, since Mrs.Besant and the Brahman members of the Imperial Legislative Council had already made sufficient arrangements to prejudice him against communal representation. . . To achieve success in the matter, it behoves the non-Brahmans to improve their associations and work for them. Although the followers of Mrs.Besant are only a few in number, there is no limit to the mischief played by them. Will not the Government take notice of all these? There seems to be no end to their vagaries, as long as they are treated with indifference.

For the week ending the ~~28th July 1918~~ 3rd August 1918.

Communal representation.

69. Referring to the suit for invalidating the elections of certain trustees for the Pachaiyappa's charities, the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 20th July, remarks:--. . . When such is the tenacity of the Brahmans respecting a charitable institution, how can they be expected to show any consideration to the non-Brahmans, in other matters? We need not, in these circumstances, write at length about the need for communal representation in every matter. How can the report of Lord Chelmsford and Mr.Montagu, which overlooks such an important matter, be acceptable to the non-Brahmans? Mr.Montagu has himself admitted that the report may contain many defects. Moreover, the time taken for drafting the report is too small for the heavy task. . .

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For the week ending the 10th August 1918.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Scheme.

1. In commenting on the Right Hon'ble Mr.Montagu's speech at Cambridge, JUSTICE, of the 3rd August, writes:- "How has Mr.Montagu come to the conclusion that under his scheme there would be no room for sectional control? Mr.Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have not examined the question, at all events their report bears no evidence of it. . . . The question of communal representation was most vigorously pressed on their attention during their stay in this city, and there were also the Native States in Southern India from which for purposes of illustration and elucidation further facts could well have been obtained for them to deduce their conclusions. The South Indian Liberal Federation and representative Audi-Dravidas gave them a splendid opportunity. In fact these and other organisations came into existence because of the intolerance, clannishness and exclusiveness of one caste, and their representation should have been considered not in the spirit of casual globe-trotters picking up and noting down things in a Pickwickian fashion, but as responsible statesmen entrusted with the difficult task of framing a constitution for India which would work without deadlocks, smoothly, successfully and to the advantage of all communities. . . We have over us the Madras Government or, in the words of the extremists, a British bureaucracy practically uncontrolled by any popular assembly, and yet this British Government or bureaucracy has so far failed, and failed lamentably, to do justice to the claims of the non-Brahman communities; and in spite of the non-Brahmans movement, as the appointments the Madras Government makes and the letters of protest and indignation that we publish from day to day show, nothing has been done to correct the inequality and to remove the causes of the existing discontent. . . But what we want now to lay stress upon is this, that if under the British Government the lot of the non-Brahmans, in spite of their being not merely the bulk of the population but the real producers and the most loyal people in the land,

is so unsatisfactory, their condition when the control of the country's affairs is transferred, wholly or in part to Mr.Montagu's 'progressive part of the people' will be deplorable, if of course communal representation is not granted to them. . . If however, the present reform is carried out without the adoption of the principle of communal representation, our position in the future will be infinitely worse than what it is today; and then will arise a situation which it would certainly not be easy for British statesmen to deal with."

<u>For the week ending the 17th August 1918</u>.

Racial animosities in India.

80. In the course of its lengthy leading article, the MYSORE STAR, of the 11th August writes:--Even the Home Rulers who were opposed to separate representation have gradually come round and approved of that principle and are trying to win self-government by bringing about unity among the people. Several patriotic people are earnestly trying to uplift the vast population of 9 crores of Panchamas from their most degraded condition, by spreading education and culture among them. It is an admitted fact that India cannot have salvation so long as the backward classes are not brought into the line with the rest of the people. These principles are considered to be sound and practicable by many far-sighted people; but those who are jealous and self-seeking can never entertain such generous ideas. It is on account of them that India had to suffer such untold miseries in the past. When India is so eagerly urging the grant of Home Rule, when the educated people assert that the country is fit for self-government and when the more advanced classes should have made a united effort for the realisation of their object by co-operating with the backward classes at such time as this, is it fair that some of the so-called educated people should create ill-will and hamper progress by falling a prey to racial animosities? The paper then quotes an instance from Dharwar where the Brahman Councillors of the Municipality are said to have tried to discredit the

municipal administration for the alleged reason that the Lingayat members were in the ascendency therein and once more proceeds to remark:--Thus, if the educated classes are not able to put up with even a slight elevation of the other classes, how can there be mutual co-operation? How can racial animosities disappear entirely? To quote another case, one of the Panchama employees in the Salem Municipal Water-works was transferred to the 2nd Agrahara ward. Forthwith the Brahman residents of the place got wild and petitioned to the Municipal authorities protesting against his transfer. When the petition came up for consideration before the Council, 8 Brahmans Councillors supported it while 9 members of other communities opposed it and the petition was thus rejected. This shows how useful it would be to have representatives of different communities in such councils. The point for consideration here is this. Pipe-water itself is objectionable from a strictly orthodox point of view. But so long as such water is unavoidably being used even for divine service, and when we are prepared to forego the objection when foreign PARAYAS, who have installed and are working the water-works, touch it day after day, is it not absurd to say that the water becomes desecrated when PARAYAS of our own country touch it or do that work? If civilised Municipal Councillors show prejudice in such matters, would it not deepen racial animosities and, what is more, serve as an illustration to prove the allegation often made by the Europeans that the Indians are not yet fit for self-government?

<u>For the week ending the 24th August 1918</u>.

Communal representation.

47. The following portions, among others, of the Presidential address at the Special Andhra Conference held at Guntur, are reproduced by the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA of the 20th August:- The Rowlatt Commission appointed to investigate into sedition, has published the uncalled-for remark that the Indians had not been acquainted with representative institutions prior to the

establishment of British administration, and had no desire for them. History shows that representative rule is not new to India. . . The work of election is not beyond the comprehension of the Indian ryot who easily understands the intricate business in the courts of justice. The literate among the Indians may be comparatively few, but those who are acquainted with the Indians know that the illeterate among them are not unintelligent and that the number of the literate among them, taken by itself, sufficiently large to supply an electorate, A consideration of these statistics shows that in point of education, character, and material prosperity, the condition of the Indians is more satisfactory than that of the people in England or Canada or the Phillippine islands when self-government was granted to them. The Indians with their ancient civilisation can easily understand their elective rights. Lack of competent electorates cannot, therefore, be an objection against the granting of self-government. . . When we see educated Indians fighting with the bureaucracy for the well-being of the people, it is absurd that the report should lay down that the interests of the people must be entrusted to a foreign bureaucracy. . . The Legislative Councils, the Courts of Justice, and the Natives States refute the charge that there are no persons in India competent for administrative work, when self-government is granted, and that the Indians should be long trained for the work by the English. . . When therefore is no will, objections may be multiplied.

Communal representation.

In a leading article referring to Mr. Montagu's recent utterance in Parliament regarding the principle of communal representation, the MYSORE STAR, of the 18th August, says:-- The reasons assigned by Mr. Montagu for condemning communal representation are hardly convincing. The Government have already granted the right to the Moslems and the Sikhs, and this, it will be admitted, has by no means led to any untoward results. The right of separate representation granted to the Moslems has only removed the discontent among them and increased the

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cordiality between them and their Hindu brethren. Sir Valentine Chirol has recently said that if communal representation has been admitted to be necessary in the case of so powerful a community as the Moslems, it was obviously all the more necessary in the case of the less influential communities. The authors of the Reform Scheme seem to have feared that the introduction of the principle of communal representation would make the scheme still more unacceptable to its critics. Since the scheme has yet to undergo enormous changes before it receives the final assent of the Parliament, we may hope that the kind efforts of Doctor Nayar and others in England would succeed in bringing the interests of the backward communities to the notice of the Cabinet and the British public.

Doctor Nayar and communal representation.

50. [The SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 16th August, writes:-- Government have released Doctor Nayar from his vow of silence. This is really good news, because freedom of speech is the birthright of every one. What Doctor Nayar now speaks has no sense. This is evident from the fact that as soon as the orders enjoining silence were withdrawn Doctor Nayar addressed an assembly of some Members of Parliamen and said that India would again be under Brahman rule if communal representation were not conceded to her and thus hurled a heap of curses on the Brahmans! It remains to be seen what answer His Excellency the Viceroy give to the Secretary to the Indian Home Rule League to his telegram urging that Home Rule representatives should be granted the same privileges as those given to Doctor Nayar.]

For the Week ending the 31st August, 1918.

Communal representation.

22. Dilating upon the need for communal representation in India, and referring to the Committee that is to be appointed for settling this question, the DRAVIDAN, of the 19th August, observes:--There is no use at all in appointing as members of his Committee, those who are against communal representation,

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As Mr.Montagu and Lord Chelmsford seem to rely upon the unnecessary clamour of the Home Rulers, at least in certain matters, it is possible that some of this class may be appointed to this Committee. Such appointments will not be liked by the public.

Communal representation.

The DRAVIDAN, of the 26th August, reiterates its fear that the members of the committees to be appointed to inquire as to how to secure communal representation, will all of them be Home Rulers and remarking that the fact of a European being at the head of these committees by itselfx may not improve the situation much, seeing that, inspite of the Imperial and Provincial Governments consisting mostly of Euroxpeans, they have not been able to shake off the spell cast by the empty xxxx noise of the Home Rulers, and suggests that the best course would be for the Cabinet to decide the question of communal representation themselves and then appoint the committees to work out the details. The paper adds that the grant of communal representation alone would be of no avail, unless the electorates are formed properly, and observing xxxxxxx that, before demolishing a house completely with a view to build a new one in its place, it is very necessary that some thought should be bestowed on the effect of such demolition requests the authorities xto ponder well before changing the present bureaucratic system of government lest the changes should land the people in a worse plight than what they are in now.

For the week ending the 7th September 1918.

Communal representation.

81 Writing on the subject of Communal Representation the KERALA BHARATHI, of the 27th August, remarks:--Every reasonable and impartial Indian admits that the demand of the non-Brahman party for communal representation is both reasonable and absolutely necessary."

In its leading article the same paper speaks of the disgraceful and degrading treatment accorded to the Ezhuvas, Pulayas, etc., by the higher castes and asks:--Is it without reason then that the non-Brahmans and Doctor Nayar, their leader, affirm that it is not yet time for India to have Home Rule? Is it without reason that they urge for communal representation?]

Ezhuva trouble in Cochin.

89. Adverting to the Ezhuva trouble in Cochin, the PRATHIDWANI, of the 1st Chingom 1904 M.E. (17th August) remarks that the keeping of Ezhuvas out of Sirkar schools and not allowing them the free use of public roads are inappropriate to the policy of a civilized government, and trusts that the Cochin Darbar will not delay the removal of the disabilities.

For the week ending the 12th October 1918.

The vilification of Brahmans.

54. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 1st October, says:--The SPECTATOR published in England has used very vituperative language about the Brahmans, which does not bear publication. Mr.Curtis worte to the paper as follows:--. . . You have compared Brahmans to jackals and the Indians xxx to hungry beasts roaming in the darkness. . . Your article not only defeats your object, but will bring trouble to the (*) Indian friends bow their heads in shame. . . It is not now possible to remedy the evil caused by your article. (* British rule in India. . . Your article cannot but make English people having-----)

Brahman hatred.

In a leading article under this heading, the TUMKUR VARTAMAN, of the 5th October, after first enlogising the spiritual and intellectual qualities of the Brahmans proceeds to xxxxx observes:--The non-Brahmans have latterly come to hate the Brahmans. The cause is this: When the Home Rule movement was inaugurated in 1916 some of the Brahmans championed the cause in national interests. The anti-Home Rulers sought to crush the movement by inciting the non-Brahmans against the Brahmans.

This is how Brahman hatred began. It is thus the anti-Home Rulers that created this Brahman hatred. There is no connexion, however, between the Brahmans and the Home Rule movement, except that some of the Brahmans are Home Rulers as also are some of the non-Brahmans for that matter.

The paper next moralises on the evils resulting from the want of unity among the different classes and communities and concludes with an exhortation that "the non-Brahmans ought not to make themselves the instruments for crippling the nation by cultivating hatred against the Brahmans at the instigation of the anti-Home Rulers."

Communal representation.

73. The ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 3rd October, says:--Needless it is to say what love the Home Rulers bear for the non-Brahmans. The Government outdo the Home Rulers. We are led to imagine that a Home Rule Government has established itself in the country. The Government treat the words of Home Rulers with regard, while they are indifferent to the interests of the non-Brahmans. Our representations turn out to be so many cries in the wilderness. The Government seem to have forgotten even our very existence. Mr.Montagu scheme of reforms does not allow communal representation. If they are granted in the present ~~six~~ form the Government will certainly pass into the hands of the Brahmans. There is none on the Franchise and Subjects Committees to safeguard our interests. There are no representatives of landholders on the committees. Ninety per cent of the zamindars and lanholders are non-Brahmans. Until the representatives of non-Brahmans are nominated as members on these two committees, the leaders of non-Brahmans, zamindars and landholders should not sleep. If the Government do not nominate our representatives as members in these two committees, it is supremely necessary that we should have nothing to do with them.

For the week ending the 19th October 1918.

The non-Brahmans movement

34. In a lengthy article under this heading, the DRAVIDAN, of the 28th September, observes that if the Brahmans have really in their view national unity and country's progress, they must at once give up their selfishness and hypocrisy and remarking that the so-called wisdom of the Brahmans is very shallow and that they have come into prominence merely by discarding all others, alludes to the iniquities committed by them even in this civilized age of the twentieth century, as evidenced recently by their action at the Tillainayagam Pillai bathing ghat, Cauvery, and exhorts the non-Brahmans to establish societies throughtout the southern districts and co-operate with their brethren in the other parts of the country.

Insult to non-Brahmans.

47. The DRAVIDAN, of the 30th September, once again reiterating its views on the necessity for communal representation and communal electorate, reproduces in Tamil some of the observations contained in an article under this heading appearing in JUSTICE of the 28th idem.

For the week ending the 26th October 1918.

Communal representation and communal electorates.

53. In the course of a long leader on the aim of the non-Brahmans movement and the folly of many non-Brahmans in still confiding in the Brahmans and getting deceived, the DRAVIDAN, of the 11th October, accuses Mr.Montagu and Lord Chelmsford of persisting in holding some mistaken views and, expressing its own doubts about the real truth of the split among the Home Rulers into extremists and moderates and observing that the Home Rulers may only be playing a game here to deceive the non-Brahmans and spoil them, which is the very thing, in the eyes of this paper, that the Brahmans want, remarks that the non-Brahmans should not be carried away by the readiness of the Brahman Home Rulers to accede to communal representation without communal electorates.

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Rulers to accede to communal representation without communal electorates, for it thinks that the former would not in the least benefit the non-Brahmans unless the latter are also brought into existence.

The SPECTATOR and the Brahmans

58. The DRAVIDAN, of the 12th October, also refers approvingly to certain epithets applied by the SPECTATOR, to the Brahmans such as "grave, demure, insidious, spring nailed, velvet-pawed and greed-eyed" and also to the comparison instituted by the SPECTATOR between the Brahmans and wily foxes, who are ever ready to knock off any food that is thrown to the masses of the people in ignorance and feels glad that the real nature of the Brahmans has been understood even in England. Adverting to the first two epithets of "grave and demure" the paper points out that, though these are good qualities in themselves, the Brahmans use them only for selfish purposes.

The Kistna District Non-Brahman conference.

65, The ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 18th October, contains the speech of the President of the Kistna District Non-Brahmans Conference, in which he is reported to have said:--We are at a loss to know what uncommon wisdom the Government have found in Mr.Srinivasa Sastri justifying his appointment on the Franchise Committee. If in making the appointment, it is the intention of the Government that the members should act according to the words of Mr.Montagu and Lord Chelmsford regarding communal representation, we shall have nothing to do with what the committee may do. The Non-Brahmans are disappointed inasmuch there is none to represent them on the committee and thereis one on it who is their political foe. In spite of the indifference of the Government towards us, we are behaving peacefully and loyally. We do not go the extent of threatening them and bargaining with them. But to go that extent appears to be beneficial in politics. Our faith in British justice is therefore now shaken, and we are losing heart. When our non-Brahmans know that the endeavours of our leaders to advance

our welfare have failed, and that they have not been able to persuade the Government to afford facilities to safeguard our fights, the results may be serious, and we warn the Government against such consequences.

70. The ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 21st October, writes under this heading:-- . . .

The Madras Special Non-Brahmans Conference.

We offer our thanks to Lord Chelmsford, to Mr.Montagu and to our Brahman brethren who are advocates of 'immediate Home Rule' for having fanned into flame the smouldering embers in the hearts of the non-Brahmans. . . . When the Government themselves have begun tobe distinctly partial to ~~xxxxxdxkxxxangxx~~, a particular community, it is but natural that even dullards and fools should be moved to anger, should become courageous and daring and be prepared for self-defence, as even a small kitten would do when it is kept ~~xx~~ at bay. . . The non-Brahman communities are being neglected in every way by the rulers. It is therefore no wonder that all the members of those communities should feel that they are lightly treated and should thus be bent upon asserting their rights. The President observes that the non-Brahmans should have nothing to do with the Franchise Committee. The non-Brahmans should note his words and act up to his advice. . . .

For the week ending the 2nd November 1918.

57. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 21st October, publishes an abstract of the proceedings of an extraordinary session of

The Non-Brahman Confederation at Madras.

the South Indian Non-Brahman Confederation held in Madras on the 20th idem and, in commenting thereon, observes:--The speech of Mr.K.S,Durai Raja, as chairman of the Reception Committee, though containing a long criticism of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform proposals, expresses no opinion regarding the sufficiency or otherwise of these proposals. He finds fault with the statement made in the report that communal representation, if granted, would perpetuate the existing differences among the Indian people,

and desires that steps should be taken in England controvert this view. Though it is clear from the results of the labours of Doctor Nayar in England that it is not easy for the advocates of communal representation to succeed in their efforts there, no one can have any objection to a few more going to England for this purpose. It will be in place to note here that, in spite of the opinion of ~~the~~ many experienced people that communal representation is unnecessary for those who are in the majority, resolutions unanimously approving of such a representation were passed at every Provincial Conference in Madras only to avoid unnecessary bickering among the people. The president Mr.Tyagaraya Chettiyar, expresses his r egret for Mr.Montagu and Lord Chelmsford having spoken highly of the Congress, the Moslem League and the Home Rule Legaue. The first two have been toiling for many years in the interests of the people, while the non-Brahman association was started only recentl with a few members, who pose to represent crores of people. If Mr.Chettiyar and his party have an ideal before them, they can attain it by pointing out that, in the matter of communal representation, there is practically no difference of opinion among the Indians. But they seem intent more upon reviling the Brahmans and the Home Rulers and all those that speak well of the latter, including the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, than upon accomplishing their object.

The DRAVIDAN, of the 21st October, refers to the speeches of the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President of the Confederation in eulogistic terms and, expressing the view that the two gentlemen have brought out very clearly the disadvantages that will result to the non-Brahman community from the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, remarks that it is yet to be seen whether Mr.Montagu and Lord Chelmsford will obstinately cling to their views, even after such a lucid exposition of facts, or change their minds.

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 22nd October, also refers to this Confederation and observing that it is a misnomer to dub a confe-

rence, convened by a handful of non-Brahmans, as the South Indian Non-Brahman Confederation and that it can be described only as the confederation of the JUSTICE party, remarks that the the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committe is ful of class-hatred and abuse of the bureaucrats, and feels sure that, in course of time, this gentleman and his party will become alive to the excesses of the bureaucracy and eventually become staunch Home-Rulers.

The same paper refers to the speech of the President in its issue of the 23rd October, and remarking that no one having any knowledge of politics will bestow any praise on this speech, as it does not indicate what reforms the speaker would like to have, invites the attention of the Government to the fact that the JUSTICE party has sprung up only to decry the Secretary of State and the Viceroy.

A 'Prtriotic' non-Brahman Conference.

74. [The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 29th October, in publishing the proceedings of the Guntur 'Patriotic' non-Brahman Conference, reports the Chairman of the Reception Committee to have said:--Doctor Nayar's party says that we are unfit to have self-government and is thus working to our prejudie. We do not know who gave it the authority to lead us. Some among us being influenced by it, nod their consent to its acts without knowing how mad it is to do so. Unless we are freed from political bondage, we cannot be saved from abjectly drifting along the stream of mere worldly happiness. The existence of self-government was the cause of the greatness of ancient India. Its absence is the cause of the present wretched condition of the country. Self-government is the best means by which this miserable state of the country can be relieved and the country restored to its former eminence. The whole administration being in the hands of foreigners, the bureaucrats manifest an aversion to everything that is calculated to advance the welfare of India. The paper reports the President to have said:--Though Mr.Montagu has declared that responsible government is the goal of British rule in India, his scheme doesnot propose

a policy adapted for such an end. We have therefore to demand the reforms proposed by the Congress. It is degrading to our self-respect and morally wrong to accept Mr.Montagu's scheme with modifications. Mr.Montagu's scheme being opposed to the Congress scheme ought to be rejected.]

The paper then gives a list of the resolutions discussed at the Conference, the first being that the conference regrets to have to reject the scheme of reforms proposed by Mr.Montagu and Lord chelmsford, which is very defective, and the last being that the Conference is of opinion that the speeches of Sir Alexander cardew and others in the Madras and the Supreme Legislative Councils regarding the Ayurvedic and the Unani systems of medicine are unfair and improper.

Ezhuva disabilities.

86. The NAZRANI DEEPIKA, of the 25th October, in its leading article on 'Ezhuvas and Pollution', observes:-"It can be surmised from recent events that in the Cochin State the Ezhuvas are driven to their wits' end by (the highhandedness of) those who pride themselves as the higher castes and that the Government is not evincing sufficient sympathy towards them". The article notes the resolutions passed at the Ezhuva Congress recently held at Calicut, approves of the resolution to form a Passive Resistance League to fight against the continuance of 'theendal' (Pollution).

The Ezhuvas in Cochin and the Ezhuva Congress at Calicut.

87. Referring to the decision of the Ezhuva Congress held at Calicut, to appeal to the Government of Madras, and if necessary to the Government of India and perhaps to the British Parliament against the injustice done by the Cochin Darbar to the Ezhuvas in the State, the DESABHIMANI, of the 26th October, says:--The question whether an Indian Prince is free to treat a large section of his subjects as mere slaves is a very important one at this juncture when the American President, the representative of a real democracy, appears as the principal character in the peace scene of the great drama of the terrible world war.

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It will therefore be very interesting to learn what reply the British Government will give to the petition of the Ezhuvas. Let them say that they cannot interfere in such matters relating to Native States. In that case the 'low castes' can leave the State altogether. The British nation that abolished the slave trade of the world will never refuse to give them shelter.

For the week ending the 9th November 1918.

27. The PANDIYANESAN, of the 14th ~~November~~ October, advocates the grant of communal representation and remarks that feelings of unity, fraternity and equality can exist among all the classes in India only if it is granted.

The authorities and the non-Brahmans.

The MAHAVIKATA DUTAN, of the 19th October, also thinks that the constitution of the Franchise Committee is prejudicial to the interests of non-Brahmans and, taking exception to the nomination of the Hon'ble Mr.Srinivasa Sastriyar as a member of it, on the ground that he has neither the status nor the respectability requisite for a member of this committee, appeals to the non-Brahmans to go on agitating for a change in its constitution, as the opinion of the British public, who are the final authorities to decide the question, has already turned in their favour.

The DRAVIDAN, of the 24th October, publishes a long article from the pen of a correspondent in which he condemns the view of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy that, by granting communal representation, the caste system in India will be perpetuated and makes the following observations among others:--Have not these officials understood at least from the opposition raised by the false Home Rulers, who are traitors to the country, to the Hindu Intermarriage Bill recently brought forward by the Hon'ble Mr.Patel, that they preach union only from the platform and that they wish to continue VARNASRAMA DHARMA, with an eye upon self-interest? Do they know that the selection of the Hon'ble Mr.Srinivasa Sastriyar who is jealous of the non-Brahmans movement and inimical to communal representation, as the

representative of South India on the Franchise Committee, has greatly pained and provokes the non-Brahmans? If they do, will they include in the committee a leading non-Brahman landholder or one of the leaders of our movement? Let them understand that, if they do not do so, it will cause great heart-burning among the non-Brahmans. We hope they will realise that, if they stick to their view, we can also hold fast to ours and, changing their wrong notions, grant us communal representation and communal electorates, which are our birth-right.

For the week ending the 16th November 1918.

The non-Brahman movement.

67. In the course of an article on this subject, the ANDHRAPRAKASIKA, of the 8th November, remarks:--Unlike men who misappropriated our money, violated our rights and ungratefully committed cruel acts in order to bring about our ruin, the British have, since the beginning of their rule, used the revenue of the country for our own benefit and brought us to this high position. . .

For the week ending the 14th December 1918.

The selection of Deputy Tahsildars.

4. JUSTICE, of the 7th December, writes:--"The Government of Madras have not been false to their time honoured tradition in the recent selection of candidate for direct recruitment to the post of Deputy Tahsildars, although it must be confessed that the claims of classes other than the Brahman have received a certain amount of consideration. . . Why an Ayyangar or Ayyar Brahman must needs be included further to swell the unconscionably disproportionate number of Brahman Deputy Tahsildars is explicable only on the hypothesis that the Government have not yet been awakened from the hypnotic spell of the Brahman. . . An analysis of the establishment list of Deputy Tahsildars will reveal that even if the Government made it a point of appointing only non-Brahmans in the future,

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it will take years before they get a fair representation in this service. Such being the case, we cannot find any justification for augmetnting the existing number of Brahmans by the selection of an Ayyangar which certainly is not calculated to facilitate the removal of the present inequalities of representationx in this branch of the service. If justice is to be done, Mr.Facing-Both-Ways cannot accomplish it, but only stern and unbending men, heedless of what interested criticism, can do it. The non-Brahmans, who have fought in this war, do not ask for favours. They only claim their just dues, and its recognition 'must appear in other ways than words'. Hitherto, they have been kept out of the superior grades of the public service on the now exploded theory of efficiency, but now that they have had light, no Government may with safety indefinitely ignore them and their claims."

For the week ending the 21st December 1918.

Communal representation.

29. Referring to a communication to the Franchise Committee from a resident of Malabar stating that, in view of the large number of Tiyas residing there, it is necessary that there should be special representatives for them in the Legislative Council, the HINDU NESAN, of the 11th December says:--Though viewed from one standpoint, communal representation does not bid fair to yield the right result, still in consideration of the large number of Tiya population and their customs and observances the view that there should be a separate representative for them.

Communal representation.

The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 19th December, in an article under this heading, writes:--The Congress demands responsible for government as in England. All fair-minded people support this view. Those who have been intoxicated by autocractic power, however, want the people to toil, sweat, suffer and remain steeped in misery, while they themselves would remain in the lap of luxury. The Home Rulers say that these people must

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be taught to think that, like the Kaiser, they will reap the fruit of their deeds, and that the country will remain sunk in degradation unless they learn to act in harmony and help the backward to prosper. Thieir opponents are seeking to obstruct this work by creating caste and religious differences. and the Brahman, non-Brahman controversy and create confusion by advocating communal representation. The discord created thereby is driving the country into degradation. The white people too have begun to fight for communal represenation for themselves. These quarrels are but a mere trick which they have devised in order to prevent the unity among the Indians from affecting their autocratic methods, Those who are unable to understand this, give up their fraternal relations and create discord. It behoves all Indians, therefore, to give up mutual differences.

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THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT.

REPORTS ON ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR NEWSPAPER

JANUARY TO JUNE 1919.

For the week ending the 4th January 1919.

Nil.

For the week ending the 18th January 1919.

The Second South Indian Non-Brahman confederation.

64. Adverting to the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of this confederation, in which it is stated that, in spite of the majority of the population being non-Brahmans, it is regrettable they have not adequate representation in the Legislative Councils, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 13th January, remarks in effect that non-Brahmans would secure high positions in the Legislative Councils and other places if they have the necessary qualifications and that the Government would not wilfully exclude them.

Coming then to the President's speech, this paper makes the following observations among others:--Some of his statements are indeed strange. He says that non-Brahman movement is the only one that tends towards securing Government by the people in India It is left to our friends to judge how far this statement is true. The only benefit derived from it is so far as we know, the creation of class-hatred and religious differences. . . The President finds fault with the Government and says that the motive of the Government is not apparent, in having taken into their confidence some who are opposed to their views and their administrative policy. . . What is his object in saying like this? Does he mean that the Government should hate the Home Rulers? Again, his observation, questioning the action of the Government in having chosen among the press representatives sent to England, the editor of a paper which was proscribed from two provinces in India, deserves to be ridiculed. Has the loyalty of the editor of the HINDU become tarnished because the HINDU has been thus proscribed? Is not Dr.Nayar, who went to England wholly at the expense of the non-Brahman movement as the true respresentative of the non-Brahmans, the editor of the

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JUSTICE, a paper which is not found fault with by the Government? Why have not the Government of India chosen him also as a representative of the Press? Perhaps the Government lost sight of him then?]

The South Indian non-Brahman Conference.

Commenting on the proceedings of the second South Indian ~~non~~ non-Brahman Conference, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 13th January, remarks:--. . . The resolutions passed by the ~~Government~~ Conference relating to the prohibition of export of foodstuffs and to the enhancement of water-rate are in accordance with public opinion and the Government will do well to give effect to them. . .

For the week ending the 25th January 1919.

The Madras Adi Dravida Sabha

38. The SIRTURUTTAN, of the 1st January, expresses its satisfaction at the views expressed ~~their views~~ its satisfaction at the views expressed by the Madras Adi Dravida Sabha in their communication to Government on the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals.

Appreciating the action of this Sabha in having plainly expressed their views in regard to giving evidence before the Franchise Committee, the DRAVIDAN, of the 17th January, observes:-- The ~~memb~~ Members of the Sabha decline to give evidence before this committee so long as the two Brahman members thereof continue to sit on it. This is indeed acceptable to all who seek justice. Whatever might have been the object of the committee when it started its inquiry, its members must have learnt by this time that many insist on communal representation being granted through communal electorates. It will, therefore, be a difficult task for them now to say anything to the contrary against their own conscience. It appears to be quite essential that the members of the Parliament should peruse all the connected papers that have been published since the assurance given on the 20th August 1917. If they ~~began~~ happen to go through these papers, they cannot but recognise the

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necessity for granting communal representation by means of communal electorates... . Who can ever believe in the possibility of the non-Brahmans getting justice by representing their grievances before Brahmans who are solely intent on their own advancement?

The second non-Brahman Confederation.

39. Commenting again on the speech of the President of this Confederation, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 15th ~~Jnlyx~~ January, makes the following observations among others:--It gives us much pleasure that he has urged on the necessity for the development of industries in this country. He attributes the unrest among the labourers in Madras, Madura and other places to political agitators. We are not surprised at this, as he is merely repeating the views of the Madras Government. Probably he has not considered how the labourers will view his observations about them. The labourers belong to the very class for whose advancement he poses to work. There is no doubt that they will feel astonished if this is all the service he can do to them. Why should he and his party, who stand aloof without helping the poor labourers, speak disparagingly of those that actually help and are being helped? This Confederation passed a resolution prohibiting non-Brahmans from appearing before the Reform Committees for giving evidence. It is realy surprising to us that JUSTICE party who were making fun of the Home Rule resorting to passive resistance are themselves adopting such resistance at present.

Adverting to this resolution and remarking that in a way it advocates passive resistance on the part of the members of this non-Brahman association, the HINDU NESAN, of the 16th January, observes:--This resolution is very nice. The Government are sending the Reform Committees from place to place for instituting local inquiries. It behoves all of us to acquaint these committees with our views and facilitate their work. The newspapers conducted by this non-brahman association have been often crying out that those who do not co-operate with the Government are disloyal. Did not those papers characterise as sedditionists

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some of the Home Rulers when they declined to accept honorary offices given to them by the Government? So, now, according to their own contention, the members of this non-Brahman party are themselves seditionists in that they say that none of their party should help the Reform Committees who are only doing the work of Government.

The second non-Brahman Confederation.

Referring to the resolution passed by the Confederation that none of its representatives should give evidence before the xxxxx Reform Committees, the LOKOPAKARI, of the 20th January also remarks that this is only opposing the action of Government by means of passive resistance, and asks how this movem of the non-Brahmans to resort to this policy can amount to loyalty?

<u>For the week ending the 1st February 1919</u>.

The Brahman vakils revolt.

5. The following appears in JUSTICE, of the 28th January:--

"When the Brahman vakils revolt against the political position of the Brahman Home Rulers, one may safely presume that a critical stage has been reached in the Brahman political world. We were under the impression that the Brahman vakil reigned supreme in the Brahman political world. At all event, without the vakils and their clients the Home Rule party would be at a considerable disadvantage both as to political and numerial strength. If the news of the revolt of the Brahman vakils have proceeded from a less authoritative souree than our Brahman contemporary, the HINDU, we should have hesitated in accepting the accuracy of the information. But now, there can be no doubt whatever that the Brahman vakils, or at all events the majority of them, have gone over bag and baggage to the Montford.camp. . . The HINDU again wondqers whether the leading Brahman vakils wanted the congenial audience composed of the junior me bers of the profession before which the leaders xx could ventilate their opinions. As a matter of fact, from the information we have received, the junior members of the legal profession constituted anything but a congenial audience

for the seniors to ventilate their opinions. . . The siniors are ripe for high appointments; the juniors are only ripening. The juniors have to undergo a probationary period before they can step into the various high official places which Mr.Montagu considers it essential shoud be thrown open for Indians, and the juniors have learned from previous experience that the most satisfactory preparation for high offices is to attack the Government. . . The anxiety of the Indian Home Rulers at the action of the Brahman vakils is evident; for at a time when the Rowlatt Committee Bills have to be opposed tooth and nail by the Home Rulers, they find themselves left in the lurch by all their leading vakils."

For the week ending the 15th February 1919.

Advice to the Dravidians.

24. A correspondent to the DESABHAKTAN, of the 5th February, reproduces in Tamil an extract from a notice said to have been issued by the Neo-Fabian Society on the voting Franchise in Madras, commenting adversely on the exercise by foreigners of certain privileges in India not enjoyed by the Indians, and makes the following observations:---O Dravidians, who cry out that the Brahmans will carry everything before them in case Home Rule is granted! Just consider what is stated in this notice. . . What enormous rights do the whites enjoy who are not permanent residents of the country and who pay only low taxes! They may shoot us as if we were bears, stab us in jest and molest those in carriage occupied by GOSHA women, and for all this they have to be tried by European Judges with the help of the European jury. . . O Dravidians! Just consider a handful of Europeans monopolizing more than half the seats on the Legislative Councils, while 42 crores of Indians have not got even half the number. Why do you feel jealous of Brahmans being returned to these Councils! In what low condition are the whites keeping us? Without any feeling of shame, for all their interpellations these Brahmans receive

the reply "that the Government are not prepared to answer? O Dravidians!' Will you or any one else, except those who do not care much for self-respect, wish to become members of these Councils? Consider these as well as the other inquities. Join the Home Rulers soon. Honour is more important to man than life. The poorest should have liberty and should cast away slavishness.

Brahman characteristics.

37. The DRAVIDAN, of the 4th February, reiterates certain epithets applied to the Brahmans referred to in an article abstracted from it in paragraph No.58 of Report No.43 of 1918 and, quoting Abbe Dubois to have stated that the Brahmans cheated the Hindu and Muhammadan Kings of olden days to serve their own purposes adds:--What does it matter to the Brahmans who care for their living what opinions others have of them? their philosophy consists only in coveting other people's property. The deception practised by the Brahmans is now known throughout the world. The attributes of 'wily', double-tongued' and 'servile' well befit them.

<u>For the week ending the 22nd February 1919</u>.

A Brahman's repentance.

62. Under this heading, a correspondent to the ANDHRAVANI, of the 5th October, gives vent to his repentance for having attended the Bombay Special Congress, as it had cost him the respect shown him by his district authorities and won for him the 'attentions of the Police' and ' a place in the sacred records of the Criminal Investigation Department'. To make amends, he proposes to join the moderates who, he says, are in the good books of the Government, but fearing that the Government may only find in them extremists in disguise, finally makes up his mind to become a member of the "South Indian Liberal Association, so well-known for its loyalty and for the favour it enjoys at the hands of the Government."

74. Taking objection to the advertisement for a Brahman manager on Rs.75 for the newly formed University students' club, a correspondent to the Andhra-Prakasika, of the 12th Befruary, requests His Excellency the Government who is the founder of the club, to interfere in the matter and see that there will be no occasion, at least in future, for such distinctions.

The Madras University Students' Club: a Brahman manager.

94. A correspondent of the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 18th February, writes: The British are a just people, as a rule. But no one is free from the greed of wealth, women and lands. Many of our people do not seem to understand fully the methods employed by the Englishmen who have come to this country and their progency to appropriate all the wealth to themselves and to keep the Indians in abject servitude by means of every possible trick they can think of, chiefly by creating disunion among the people through caste hatred.

The Brahman non-Brahman controversy.

For the week ending 10th May:

25. The Dravidan, in its issues of the 28th, 29th and 30th April, publishes the address delivered by Doctor Nayar at a meeting held on the 25th idem in the Justice office to concert measures to send a non-Brahman deputation to England and to carry on propaganda work on a more extensive scale.

The Non-Brahman deputation to England.

For the week ending 17th May

7. Justice, of the 16th May, says:-- "It is strange that while admitting the full force of the arguments advanced in favour of communal representation for the non-Brahmans of Madras and recognising their grievances to

Non-Brahmans and the Franchise Committee.

be genuine, the Government of India suggest a remedy of which the utter uselessness has been pointed out in these columns and ~~xkxxqhxx~~ elsewhere a thousand times. Is it because the Brahmans of this Presidency are determinednot to be forced into an electorate of their own that the present compromise is proposed? Yes, the influence of the Brahamans is potent and pervasive. In Madras they are the rulers and the agitators, and they have brought even the Government of India within the sphere of their influence; otherwise we could not account for the complete and studied exclusion from the Franchise Committee of non-Brahmans and the inclusion in it of so pronounced a Madras Brahman as Mr.V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, the advocate in the Imperial Legislative Council of Brahman oligarchy. With him and Mr. Surendaranath Banerje, another Brahman, on the Franchise Committee, it was too much to expect that body to arrive at any other conclusion; and the committee and the Government which latter, while laying down the true proposition that numbers count for little in India at present against social, educational, and especially religious superiority which has behind it the sanction of centuries would still not allow the non-Brahamans to have their own electorates, have alike denied justice to the non-Brahmans of Madras in a matter of supreme concern to them at this moment."

46. A correspondent of the Dravidan, of the 7th May, writes:-

The Brahmans under the British Government.

It is a fact known to all people in the world that the Brahmans, who now form an advanced community in our country, are scheming in many ways to root out the English Government. Though it is the Englishmen that conduct the administration, all powers are in the hands of the Brahmans and they do anything they like, without the least fear. Even, as officials, these Brahmans are secretly inciting disturbances helping Home Rule lecturers to do their work and obstructing Dravidian lectures. A Trichinopoly correspondent has already reported that a meeting, held by the Dravidian leaders to

explain the Rowlatt Law to the people and expose the fraudulent motive of the originators of the Satyagraha movement, was disturbed by a Brahman xxkik vakil and stones were thrown on the meeting and that the Police did not pay any attention to it. It appears a similar disturbance was created even in Madura when a lecture was delivered about the Rowlatt Law by Mr.J.N. Ramanadhan on the 23rd April, 1919. All this is due only to the partiality of the Brahman officials. The Government should note this and see that the appointments in every place are distributed between the Brahmans and the Dravidians, so as to prevent the loyal and poor Dravidians from being deluded by the Brahman officials and becoming seditionists. Otherwise these officials will, while pretending to be innocent, cause much mischief.

For the week ending 31st May.

Brahman ascendancy.

47. Remarking that, in spite of the paucity of their numbers, the Brahmans command much influence and power, the Dravidian, of the 23rd May, observes:- About 70 or 80 percent of the Government officials are Brahmans. This is the cause of their success in political affairs. Perhaps this fact has been purposely omited by the Madras Government and Sir Alexander Cardew when they expressed their views on the political reforms It is not at all true that the preponderance of Brahmans in Government offices is due to the dearth of non-Brahmans. The fact that Brahmans are getting further advancements in offices in spite of their commiting faults which, if committed by non-Brahmans in politics is that they are holding 80 per cent of the Government appointments, especially in this country where government officials are all influential.

The Brahmans.

52. A correspondent to the Dravidan, of the 24th May, observes: Are not Brahmans, otherwise known as Aryans, fit to be called wicked men? Alas! Is it not wickedness on

would have ruined them for all the rest of all their lives
shows that there are other causes for this preponderance
The cause for the progress of the ~~progress~~ the Brahmans

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their part to have settled in Bharatha Khanda, deceived and enslaved ignorant people and treated them worse than slaves? Should these false Brahmans be called wise men? Is it not wickedness that, in the present agitation, they should speak ill of the Government? Are these traitorous and ungrateful Brahmans going to elevate the poor Dravidas when they get self-government? Even our ancestors considered the Brahmans to be wicked men and were keeping them at a distance.

Brahmans and Home Rule.

83. The Andhraprakasika, of the 24th May, says that a non-Brahman Government servant in the office of Revenue settlement at Tanjore is being persecuted by the Brahman Government servants in the office because the former remarked against the grant of Home Rule to India. It exclaims, "may the non-Brahmans who still think that Home Rule is not Brahman rule realise from the above fact what Home Rule means!

The ~~Nonxxxx~~ Brahman question.

85. The Andhraprakasika, of the 24th May, refers to the ~~faxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ preponderance of the Brahman element in the several departments of Government service and in the various professions, and says:-- That the Brahmans wield great political influence is therefore no wonder. What more proof is required to show the need of communal representaton for non Brahmans. We hope the authorities will consider the opinion of Sir Alexander Cardew in this matter. So long as the influence of the Brahmans prevails, there can be no educational or political progress among the non-Brahmans or the Panchamas. The non-Brahmans are now waiting to see what attitude the Government are going to take towards their advancement.

For the week ending 21st June.

The non-Brahmans reforms.

55. The Dravidan, of the 12th June, refutes the charge levelled against the non-Brahmans that they are against

political reforms and remarks:-- We do want reforms in the constitution of the Indian Government and we are anxious that they should be introduced soon, but what we feel is that the people should have a real voice in the administration of the country. All that we say is that a small class should not exercise predominating influence in the Government. The Montford reforms aim only at increasing the existing influence of such a class. We want certain reforms in that scheme itself. Considering the present condition of the non-Brahmins, if they are to have influence in the Government, communal representation is indispensable. It is because the Muhammadans were given communal representation that the dissensions between them and the Hindus disappeared as well as their disabilites in the matter of status under the Government. If communal representation is not granted to the non-Brahmans who form the major portion of the population, the fume of discontent among them is sure to spread far and wide and cause trouble to the whole country, by increasing the divisions and dissensions among the Hindu community. We do not want this representation perpetually but only until such time as our people make appreciable advance in social status, education and politics.

72. Under this heading, the Andhraprakasika, of the 7th June

Government posts and communal representation

observes that the Government of India is British only in name and that there is no doubt that the entire administrative power vests in the hands of Brahmans, all offices in the State being held by them. It complains that such recent orders as the one making even a school-final candidate eligible for the post of a Probationary Revenue Inspector are utilised by Brahman Sarishtadars to increase the Brahman element in the public service still further, though the object of these orders is to encourage non-Brahmans. It suggests as a remedy for this evil that the Government

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should reserve certain posts for non-Brahmans. It quotes for example the case of the Superintending Engineer's office at Bellary, which, it alleges, is filled entirely with Brahman clerks, the Engineer being himself a Brahman. In conclusion it gives an extract in Telugu from the letter of one, Judex advising non-Brahmans to wake up and send their representatives to England to fight for communal representation in every respect.

The Brahman ascendancy

111. The Samadarsi, of the 31st May, refers to the note of Sir Alexander Cardew in which he refers to the possibility of Brahmans overpowering all others in any scheme of self-Government for India. The article traces the superiority of the Brahmans in point of general literacy and their intellectual and other achievements, and remarks, "why should we be envious of the Brahmans? Why should not we rejoice in the position of eminence they have reached? Let those who perversely contend that if self-government is given to India the Brahmans will secure complete control of the administration and the non-Brahmans will go to the wall, consider for a moment what benefits the non-Brahmans have received from one and a half centuries of British Rule. What have British officials done to spread education among the non-Brahmans and depressed classes? What efforts have been made during the 150 years to better the lot of the down-trodden classes? Although admission has been freely allowed to the children of the Theendal castes in the schools in the Native States, not even so much has been accomplished in British India. While a Rama Ayyar and a Sesha Ayyar in British Malabar discarded their own caste interests in striving to uplift Parayas and Pulayas, a Thorne put up a notice board in a public road prohibiting the use of that road by Ezhuvas.

Week ending 28th June.

61. Referring to the representation of the depressed classes recommended by the Franchise committee, the Deenabhandu, of the 15th June, observes:-- It must be said that in the Southborough report, attempts were made to console the depressed classes without ignoring them altogether. There is no doubt to say, therefore, that full justice has not been done to them. The number of the depressed classes is one million in the Madras Presidency, while the Indian Christian community which is only one fourth of the depressed classes ~~that they~~ has been allowed three representatives. It is of no advantage to the depressed classes that they should be granted only two representatives, even those two not being elected but nominated by the Government. The recommendation made in their behalf by the Government of India is very reasonable, and somewhat beneficial also. But we cannot agree with it, nor with the recommendation of the Southborough committee. Our reason is this. There are 24 districts in the Madras Presidency. Unless one representative at least is allowed for a group of three districts, it is our firm conviction that those who are in a backward and a very deplorable condition in every respect, will have little chance of improving. There should therefore be at least eight members, to represent these classes and they should all be elected as other elected members. The present rules relating to the qualifications of voters may be slackened in the case of the depressed classes and ~~the number of voters in that should therefore be at least~~ the number of voters in that community should be increased. Every literate man and every person paying a tax of Rs.10 should be recognized as fit to vote. Should the government think that the depressed classes do not contain men who are fit to represent them, there should be no objection to the patriotic workers belonging to a different caste but working for their uplift being elected. We hope that the Government will bestow better consideration on the question of the depressed classes than on the special representation of other communities and will do them

Communal representation

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THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT.

REPORTS ON ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR NEWSPAPERS

JULY TO DECEMBER, 1919.

For the week endinge the 12th July, 1919.

The non-Brahmin movement

55. In the course of an article on the non-Brahman movement, a correspondent to the Hitakarini, of the 29th June, makes the following remarks: Every individual desires to be self-respecting and does not wish to be subject to others, unfairly and unnecessarily. Every nation desires to be an independent nation by itself. The handicrafts, trade etc, of the non-Brahmans have declined on account of our rulers and other causes.

For the ending 19th July, 1919.

The Trichinopoly District non-Bhahman Conference.

68. In commenting on the speech of the President of the second non-Brahman Conference, Trichinopoly district, the Andhraprakasika, of the 28th June, remarks: There is no doubt that from the beginning the Government of India have been cowardly in dealing with those who made anarchical agitation. It is this cowardice of the Government that has given room for the vow of passive resistance to develop and brought about sorrowful results.

For the week ending 2nd Aug.

~~For the week ending 16th August 1919~~

Non-Brahmans and communal representation.

28. The Dravidan, of the 23rd July, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, an article on this subject, in which the writer observes that if the Muhammadans have advanced and secured high positions after the introduction of the Minto-Morley reforms, it was only because they were granted communal representation, and discusses as follows the objections raised by Mr.Montagu to

the grant of communal representation; His first argument is that granting communal representation will be going against history and it is not a sound one. Sir Eliot G.Colvin is quite right in saying that Indian political history has in the years 1888, 1892 and 1898 accepted the propriety of granting communal representation and that nothing has happened since then to change this view, Did not Akbar grant communal representation to the Hindus with a view to their advancement? The second argument of Mr.Montagu is that communal representation will mar the union of people and lead to class hatred. But communal representation will only increase union and not decrease it. It has dispelled the longstanding enmity between the Hindus and the Muhammadans and has created union between them. Then again, why has Mr.Montagu himself given communal representation to the Muhammadans and the Sikhs? Is it his object to creat class hatred and mar their union? If so, what are the reforms for? So this is a false contention. The reasons assigned by Mr.Montagu for giving communal representation to the Muhammadans and the Sikhs are that it was promised to the former in 1909 and that the latter sent men for the war. Very well. If so, why can it not be given to the non-Brahmans, who have supplied men and money for the war? Is it proper for Mr.Montagu to forget only the help these rendered in time? Was not the bloodshed in Mesopotamia non-Brahman blood? Should it not be appreciated? It is not proper that Mr.Montagu should condemn communal representation which is supported by Lords Dufferin, Landsdowne, Sydenham, Minto, Morley and others.

For the week ending the 16th August, 1919.

The non-Brahman Movement.

35. Remarking that the non-Brahmans as a class are not referred to in any Veda, and that they can be said to be a new caste introduced in the time of the British, the Desabhaktan, of the 6th August, observes: A separate movement forthis

community was started during Lord Pentland's regime, as one of his many hobbies. No one complains about this movement. Had those connected with it done their duty without slandering the Brahmans and siding the bureaucrats, they would have undoubtedly succeeded in their object. The newspapers that come forward to promote this movement in the beginning began their work by heaping reproaches on Gods and elderly men. They stood against the Home Rule agitation and supported the actions of the Anglo-Indians and the bureaucrats. It is on seeing this that many Brahmans and non-Brahmans did not come forward to patronize the movement. Some zamindars, who are ever seeking the favour of the bureaucrats and some false patriots joined the movement and squandered their money on it. The public did not support the movement which has not the support of the public, is only shortlived. There are indications to show that this movement which is a tool in the hands of the Bureaucrats is on the decline. As for the question whether good or evil has resulted from it, our opinion is that it has produced both good and bad results. As this movement led to traitorous acts being committed, a genuine feeling of loyalty was roused everywhere- The treachery of a few infused a real spirit of patriotism in many. The starting of Home Rule associations in different parts of the Tamil country is due directly to this movement. It is known to all how the acts of Lord Curzon opened the eyes of India and gave an impetus to ~~the~~ the nationalistic cause. Just as Mr.B.C.Pal expressed his gratitude to Lord Curzon, we convey our thanks to the originators of the non-Brahman movement. As regards evil results of this movement, it has wounded the feelings of many and filled the hearts of many with the venom of hatred, and tends to prolong the existing system of administration and destroy fraternity. Let the Justice party, hereafter at least, give up confiding in the bureaucrats and the Anglo-Indians and repose confidence in their brethren, the sons of the soil, and co-operate in serving the country. Mr. Gillman

the supporter of this movement, has ceased to be. Sir Alexander Cardew and Lord Pentland are not in power now. Let the non-Brahmans realise this and seek union. The non-Brahmans would do better to take steps conducive to the welfare of their own classes, than to injure the country by doing obeisance to the bureaucrats, humouring the Anglo-Indians and hating the Brahmans.

For the week ending the 23rd August, 1919.

102. In its leader under this heading, the Andhraprakasika, of the 9th August, observes:-

Non-Brahmans in the Public Services.

The recent Council nominations have established the need for communal representation in the Legislative Council. We are at a loss to know the reason why the Government which has understood the need for communal representation in the Legislative Council should fail to see its importance in public services. If the Government grant communal representation in public services, we submit that there will be good progress of education among the non-Brahmans and that a sufficient number of them will be available for appointments in Government service. In the name of the non-Brahmans, Brahmans are enjoying the concessions granted by the Government in recognition of the services of non-Brahman soldiers who fought in the war. Is it not regrettable that the Government should fail to notice it? If, in these circumstances, many people charge the Goverment with partiality, are they wrong? If the Government want to be impartial, they have to make some rules to safeguard the rights of the non-Brahmans. At present, many petty non-Brahmans suffer untold troubles at the hands of a few high Brahman officials. The Government should try to put a stop to all these things by arranging to admit a larger number of non-Brahmans into the lower grades every year.

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For the week ending the 30th August, 1919.

46. Reiterating the necesssity for communal representation for the non-Brahmans and demurring to the view expressed by some that the success of many non-Brahmans at the last election to the local Legislative Council dispenses with that necessity, the Dravidan, of the 20th August, points to the defeat of Mr.Kesava Pillai and others at the election as proof positive for the necessity of such a representation and adds:-

Communal representation.

It is noteworthy in this connexion that Mr.Venkata Reddi Nayudu, in giving evidence before the Parliamentary committee, is reported to have stated that the sympathy professed by the Brahmans for the depressed classes was not sincere, on which Lord Sinha appears to have remarked that it was a sweeping reflection against all the educated and wealthy people. This is surprising indeed. As Lord Sinha is a Montagu-moderate he will speak only in that strain. Let him be dreaming and speaking as he likes. We need not mind it. We will say that all this only proves the necessity for communal representation. Further, is it possible to have equality, retaining the caste differences? Our question is whether those that pretend to observe such equality can be considired to be really educated. The education of the Brahmans is no real education at all. We hold that it is but the result of cramming.

48. In inviting the attention of the Justice party to the news received that the Joint Committee refused to hear the non-Brahman representatives who are now in England, the Desabhaktan, of the 21st August, says:-

The non-Brahmans and the Joint Committee.

Will the Justice party realise now at least the warnings we gave them in the beginning? Our friends are aware that the Chetti-Nayar Company was for years working for the progress of the country with their countrymen. It grieves us even

now to think of how, all on a sudden, these began to hate their brethren and to act prejudicially to their country, by getting entaggled in the illusive net of the selfish European merchants. What is now the fate of this party, which acted on the venomous advice of the Anglo-Indian papers that always, preached the policy of governing the Indians by a policy of 'divide and rule?' Even the words of advice to this party of patriots like Sir Sankaran Nayar were of no avail. Those on whom this party had relied and their adherents have now deserted them. Lord Pentland and Sir Alexander Cardew patted the leaders of the Pseudo non-Brahman party on their backs. Our friends may remember in what disparaging terms these two gentlemen spoke of the non-Brahmans before they left. Mr.Welby, the editor of the Madras Mail, supported the non-Brahman cause and opposed the views of the congress. He too has deserted them now and is making a noise in England that the interests of the European mercantile community in India should be safeguarded. The ways of even Lord Sydenham are known to all. After making a fuss of pleading the cause of the non-Brahmans and the depressed classes, he gave out that the interests of the Indian Civil Service party and the European mercantile community deserved consideration and has secured a seat on the Joint committee for benefiting his own countrymen. It is a certain that the Justice party is not unaware of all this. They should realise that they can accomplish their objects only by working in unioon with the Congress party but not by relying upon foreigners.

[For the week ending 6th September, 1919.

The non-Brahman deputation in England.

23. Adverting to some among the non-Brahman deputation now in England having been refused a hearing by the Parliamentary committee on the ground that it was impossible to go on inquiring witnesses

ad infinitum, the Dravidan, of the 27th August, observes:-- This is undoubtedly an undesirable step. Have all difficulties and inconveniences and want of time cropped up only in hearing our representatives, while innumerable other witnesses have been inquired? We think that at present the Brahman tactics are prevailing even in England. Perhaps, Mr.Montagu is afraid that a basis may be created for the claim for communal representations if all the non-Brahman representatives are inquired! Though the Parliamentary committee omitted to examine some of our witnesses, we hope they would have understood the truth. We strongly assert that it is quite improper that those who went to England from here at great expense and trouble should have been so lightly treated.

The non-Brahman Representation.

The Dravidan, of the 27th August, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, an article on this subject in which the following finds place among others:- Let us discuss the truth of the argument that, in view of their majority in numbers communal representation is not indispensable for the non-Brahmans. If so, why did Mr.Montagu grant special representation to our Muhammadan brethren in the Punjab, who are in the majority there? Does this not prove that the grant of communal representation is necessary for a class, whose progress is deemed indispensable, though it is strong in numbers? ~~Does this not prove that the This grant of communal representation is necessary for a class,~~ This principle clearly applies to the non-Brahmans of this Presidency for the following reasons: At the outset they lack education, only 2 per cent among them having a knowledge of English. So, they evince no anxiety in regard to the persons they return to the Legislative Council. The reason why they have to act on the words of the Brahman officials is that the latter are able to have everything their own way and spoil the former if they like. The non-utility of the non-Brahmans

being in the majority and the need for communal representation will again be made clear by the fact that, while only three of the nine elective seats in the local Legislative Council went to the Brahmans in 1909, they gained six seats in 1912 and nine-tenths of the seats in 1915 and that almost a similar proportion has been maintained even in the case of the representatives of the local Council on the Imperial Legislative Council.

The Reform scheme and the evidence of the non-Brahmans.

97. Referring to some correspondence published in the Madras Mail complaining the Joint Committee on reforms refused to accept the evidene of the non-Brahmans, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 28th August, writes:-- If we were on the committee, we would have stoutly protested against such partiality and seen that the evidence of the non-Brahmans was admitted. There can be no harm in admitting their evidence. Brahmans or non-Brahmans, every party should have its say. Is it not the duty of the committee to consider the evidence of all and say what is just and unjust, as before God? As they have not done their duty, we are one with the non-Brahmans in saying that what they did was unfair. We hope it is not late for the Hoint Committee to accept their evidence even now.

For the week ending the 13th September, 1919.

The Liyyas and the local Legislative Council.

79. In its leading article, the Mitavadi of August points out that as the Tiyyas have for a long time been clamouring for representation in the Madras Legislative Council it can never be said that their failure

to get this boon from the Government is due to want of zeal on the part of the community and that though it has now almost been settled that Indian Christians, Europeans and Mussalmans, should have separate representation in the Reformed Councils, the case of the Tiyyas is likely to be as bad as ever. They are mixed up with Ayyars, Nayars, Nayudus and Mudaliyars.

Even after the reform of the Legislative Council, Tiyyas will not get any privilege expect the chance of catching small stray crumbs thrown out from the Government office as a matter of grace. Even these will mostly be given to Nattukottai Chettis, Komatti Chettis and Zamindars. Perhaps the case of the Panchamas may receive some special attention in future. It is also seen that the Government have not acceded to the request that the tenants of Malabar should have a representative in the Legislative Council.

For the week ending the 27th August, 1919.

Disappointment to the non-Brahman Delegates.

56. Referring to the refusal of the Joint Committee to take the evidence of some non-Brahman representatives, a correspondent to the Andhraprakasika, of the 6th September, writes under this heading:-- Only one out of the few Non-Brahman delegates gave his evidence. We fail to understand why the Joint Committee should so soon become vexed with the evidence of the Non Brahman deputation. The step-motherly affection which Mr. Montagu has been showing towards the Non-Brahmans ever since he assumed the charge of the Secretary of State for India is not without reason. The contempt he has had for the Non-Brahmans from the beginning, was responsible for the order that Doctor Nayar should make no public speeches during his stay in London two years back. A consideration of the above facts shows

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that all this inquiry of the Joint Committee is a drama the stage director in which is doubtless Mr. Montagu himself. It is certain that the claims and wants of the non-Brahmans cannot find recognition, so long as Mr. Montagu holds the office of the Secretary of State. Such strange events would not have occurred, if there had not been some sort of agreement between him and the Brahmans. May Mr. Lloyd George, the Premier, and his friends who have to work incessantly for the progress of the people realise this matter and do justice to the non-Brahmans!

The paper adds the following remark to the above letter:- It is gratifying to note that the rejected evidence has been again taken.

For the week ending the 18th November, 1919.

60. In an article under this heading, the Dravidan, of the 29th October, complains that, on account of the predominance of Brahman officials in the service, the grievances of the non-Brahmans are not being properly attended to and remarking that it has caused pain to, and brought about a big agitation among, the non-Brahman community, writes:- The Government not only pay no attention to the wants of this community in which are comprised agriculturists, merchants and labourers who form, as it were, the basis of the Government revenue, but also neglect the non-Brahman officials who freely move with the members of the aforesaid community and are in a position to understand their opinions and do them good. Further, the administration would be properly carried on and the interests of all classes duly attended to only if there was an equal representation of all classes in the public service. Hence it is necessary that there should be

The non-Brahman officials.

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a good number of non-Brahman officials in the service and that there should be a good number of non-Brahman officials in the service and that there should be heads of departments appointed from that community. But it is clear that Lord Willingdon has not realized this. The two previous members of the Executive Council were only Brahmans and the present incumbent of that office, who has gone on leave is also a Brahman. Three of the Judges of the High Court of Madras are again Brahmans. We were expecting that Lord Willingdon at least would consider the claims of the non-Brahman officials, many of whom we are well educated and of sterling character, but he too seems to be unsympathetic towards them like his predecessors. The Government of Madras have neglected the pre-eminent claims of Mr. Venugopala Chettiyar, I.C.S., to a seat on the Bench of the High Court of Madras and those of Mr.L.D.Swamikannu Pillai to be appointed a Commissioner of the Board of Revenue in the place of the late Mr.Aziz-ud-in Sahib or a member of the Executive Council. We understand that these two persons are the only non-Brahmans who hold high appointments in the Judicial and Revenue Departments respectively and that their claims are deserving of good consideration, so we request Lord Willingdon to attend to this matter.

For the week ending 8th Nov:

Brahminisation of the Congress Committee,

1. Referring to the recent Madras elections to the Madras Congress Committee and the number of Brahmans, 11 out of 14 elected, the West Coast Spectator, of the 30th October, in a leader under the heading "Humbugs in Public Life" remarks:- "Communal representation is an evil; we ourselves had opposed it, but the latest Brahman tactics compel us to revise our views. We have no gurantee that elections to the Councils of the future would not be run

on the Congress Committee lines, and Madras Brahmans have made it abundantly clear that communal representation is a necessary evil necessitated by their selfishness and aggrandisement. After the event at least, let the non-Brahmans turn wise; let them not trust the Brahman, however smooth speaking he might be, in so far as his political interests are concerned. The Brahman and the non-Brahman can pursue the same ideal sitting in separate compartments, but when the latter's vital interests are at stake, he must act on his own behalf."

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For the week ending the 6th November, 1919.

1-(c). Justice, of 26th November, has the following:--"The public meeting of non-Brahmans held last evening in the justice office hall was, in spite of the fact that there was hardly any notice of it, a success. The President of the meeting, the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P.Tyagaraya Chetti, in his speech briefly and lucidly explained the whole situation and reaffirmed the views so repeatedly expressed by the non-Brahmans in their conferences, confederations and meetings, and he was followed by Mr.Tirumalai Pillai, Mr.Arogiaswami Pillai and others in equally emphatic terms pointing out that as stated in the resolution itself, it was unwise, at this the final stage of the reform legislation, for Parliament to abdicate its functions in regard to the question of communal representation for non-Brahmans by referring it back to the authorities in India who have so far shown no practical sympathy with the demands and aspirations of the non-Brahmans. Even on Monday last when the Viceroy could well have afforded without offending the susceptibilities of the Liberal League and its Brahman leaders to show a little courtesy to the non-Brahmans, he preferred to be otherwise.In the face of these facts and in

view of the elaborate and thorough discussion of the question before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, it is unfair and unjust to leave the non-Brahmans to plead their case again before a jury which had already indicated its attitude towards them and which, even if it were otherwise inclined, Mr. Montagu can twist any way he likes; and we know Mr. Montagu but too well."

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THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT.

REPORTS OF MADRAS WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS JANUARY TO JUNE 1920.

For the week ending ~~24d~~ 24th January., 1920.

39. In a leader under this heading, the Dravidan, of the 14th January, refers to the difficulty with which the non-Brahmans had to contend in securing communal representation and pointing to the fact that they and the Brahmans have to come to a settlement among themselves as to the number of seats that should be assigned to the non-Brahmans in the Legislative Council, observes:--

The Brahman and the Non-Brahman.

It is highly doubtful whether the Brahmans and non-Brahmans will come to a decision among themselves. It is but natural for the cattle which were freely grazing in the land of a ryot, to feel aggrieved by the ryot putting up a fence to protect his crop and is it a feasible policy to ask the cattle and the ryot to come to an amicable settlement between themselves? Similarly, the Brahmans, though they form only 3 per cent of the population, are avariciously claiming an undue share of appointments and seats on the Legislative Councils, while the non-Brahmans argue that, being in the majority and contributing all that is advantageous to the Government, they need not surrender their rights to the Brahmans to an undue extent. A fair consideration will show that the contention of the non-Brahmans is right. If the Brahmans sincerely deem the non-Brahmans to be their countrymen, why should they not allow the latter to hold all the seats on the Legislative Council? So their love for the non-Brahmans resembles only that of the fox for the sheep.) From their desire to obtain the majority of the seats, without confiding in us, we should consider that they are divided from us by a wider gulf than the Muhammadans and the Christians who sympathise with us and co-operate for p public good. Properly speaking they can be given only three

seats in proportion to their population, or they may be given give seats like the Christians; As they aspire for more, you should know that there is some deception about it.

The Brahman and the non-Brahman controversy.

75. Referring to the failure of the Brahman and the non-Brahman representatives to arrive at a compromise at their recent joint meeting in the Local Legislative Council Hall, the Kistnapatrika, of the 17th January, observes:- It would have been very honourable, if we had arrived at some compromise without the intervention of the Government of India. To compromise where compromise should not be made and not to compromise where compromise should be made is coming to be regarded as statesmanship.

Non-Brahman representation.

82. Referring to the recent discussion about the proportion of Brahmans and non-Brahmans in the Council, the Andhraprakasika, of the 17th January, says that the non-Brahman community has "Justice and Truth" on their side, though not Mr.Montagu, that they should work with resolution and that, if Mr.Montagu should discard their prayers, he would be answerable for it.

For the week ending 31st January, 1920.

The Non-Brahmans and the Legislative Council.

51. The Dravidan, of the 28th January, again refers to the conference of the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans recently convened by His Excellency Lord Willingdon, having failed to come to any amicable settlement on account of the Brahman leaders as it puts it, not agreeing to allow as many seats to the non-Brahmans as the latter should have in proportion to their population and asks how the Brahmans are justified in demanding for themselves a larger number of seats than is warranted by their numbers. It points

to another conference to be held on the 31st instant for the same purpose and, appealing to the non-Brahmans to agitate for their rights, says: The Government of Madras too has now changed into a complete Brahman Government. If you continue inactive, you will be undone. Perhaps Lord Willingdon too has become converted into a Brahman Lord!

<u>For the week ending 14th February, 1920.</u>

The Non-Brahmans and the Legislative Council.

28. Quoting with approval the resolutions passed at a meeting of the non-Brahmans held in Madras on the 29th January 1920, one of which is that not more than seven seats should be reserved for the Brahmans, and also the opinion expressed by Major Ormsby Gore, a member of the Joint Committee on reforms, that it is the number of seats to be assigned to Brahmans that should be specified, the Dravidan, of the 4th February, observes:- The reservation of the seats for Brahmans will settle everything without distrubance or confusion. If, on the other hand, a certain number of seats is set apart for the non-Brahmans and both the communities are allowed to compete for the remaining seats, it would lead to much displeasure and hatred. In the same way in which they duped the ancient kings of India the Brahmans have succeeded in cleverly winning over some officials even in the impartial British Government. Mr.Montagu has been caught in the net of the Brahmans and begun to hate the non-Brahmans even more than the Brahmans do. Both Lord Chelmsford and Lord Willingdon, who are subject to the control of Mr.Montagu, follow the same policy. Is it sound statesmanship to do acts prejudicial to the interests of the non-Brahmans relying on the words of some agitators who are always making a noise? Though the Brahmans have been residing in South India for a long time, they are intent only on seizing the properties of the non-Brahmans and never care for the welfare

of the latter, and it is not, therefore, a sound policy to place the non-Brahmans under the control of the Brahmans.

For the week ending 21st February, 1920.

The Brahmans.

44. In the course of a contribution published by the Dravidan, of the 11th February, from the pen of a correspondent, he describes the Brahmans as people devoid of all feeling and roaming about with the idea of belonging to a higher class, beggars taking alms from the non-Brahmans, blind persons having no spark of love, and cruel persons having not a grain of mercy and fleecing at a nick and wants the non-Brahmans to understand that it will not do for them to invite such people for performing religious rites.

The non-Brahmans and the Legislative Council.

45. Reffering to the report of the conference of Brahman and non-Brahmans held on the 31st January, as published by the Hon'ble Mr.P.Tyagaraya Chettiyar and others, the Dravidan, of the 11th February, concludes therefrom that His Excellency Lord Willingdon has not a good impression of the non-Brahmans and takes a great interest in the Brahmans and, quoting his words that he finds by his experience that the Brahmans are not as bad a lot as was represented to him by the non-Brahmans ~~are tale-bearers and that the Brahmans deserve to~~ gentlemen in the beginning and that he has made many friends among the Brahmans, observes:-- Do not these words show that the non-Brahmans are tale-bearers and that the Brahmans deserve to be befriended by rulers of Provinces, for which the non-Brahmans are not fit? Is it statesmanship on the part of a Provincial head, appointed to govern the Province impartially, to make a statement like this, likely to creat an impression that he is acting with partiality. It is not known who the non-

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non-Brahmans are that bore tales against his Brahmans friends. Perhaps he has ascertained through the Brahmans that Manu has ordained that the tounges of those that blaspheme them should he cut off and hence his strictures against the non-Brahmans. At the outset he should not have presided at the conference, knowing that there were representatives of several parties therein and, when he did, it was unfair on his part to have taken sides. Within a year of his appointment he has expressed his view regarding the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans. A doubt therefore arises as to how he will treat the non-Brahmans during the remaining period of his tenure of office. We think he will soon find out who are loyal among the Indians, who came forward and fought for the British Government, sacrificing money and life, and who were devising means to dupe the Germans, if they should win and get into the country. Still there is no use of complaining against Lord Willingdon; for he has only to carry out the orders of Mr.Montagu, who acts on the words of the Moderates.

Expressing its regret at the non-Brahmans not having the required training to understand the tactics of the Joint Committee in leaving the question of seats reserved for them in the Legislative Council to be decided by them and the Brahmans, the Desabhaktan, of the 13th February, writes:-- As long as all people born in India do not deem themselves to be brethren and rely upon others, our country will not progress. A school should be opened to make our leaders understand the policy of Divide and rule' and they will do well to serve the country, after undergoing a training in this school. How many factions had this weapon of'divide and rule' created in India! Of the three shades of opinion about the number of seats to be reserved for non-Brahmans, that held by the Presidency Association is the only impartial one and this is approved at heart by some Brahmans and by some members of the Justice party; If they will do so openly, it will save the honour of our province. A communique has been issued by the Government asking the non-Brahmans and the Brahmans

to meet at the Council Chamber on the 18th and 19th instant respectively and elect six representatives each to present their case before Lord Meston. We would call this communique a blind one; for it raises many doubts such as, who are to elect these representstives and according to what procedure, how many Brahmans and how many non-Brahmans are to exercise this franchise and whether only particular persons will be invited to the meeting or all persons can attend it. The Government of Madras are perhaps having an amusement in trying to find out the attitude of the people! We appeal to all the parties to come together before Lord Meston's arrival realising that all of them are Indians, and express an unanimous opinion.

For the week ending 28th February, 1920.

The definition of non-brahman.

56. The Andhrapatrika, of the 19th February, writes on non-Brahman representation to the following effect under this heading:-- It is highly regrettable that both the parties could not come to an agreement and have afforded room for the arbitration of a foreigner. Before proceeding to a settlement of the question of non-Brahman representation, the term non-Brahman must be defined. Does it denote only non-Brahman Hindus, exclusive of the Panchamas, or all the non-Brahman Hindus, or all the non-Brahman Indians? If the first, it means the Sudras comprising numerous subdivisions. This community being more influential in the matter of wealth, numerical strength, etc,, than the Brahman community, needs no separate representation. If the second, the Panchamas have separate representation, the Arya Vaisyas are seeking it and the Vizwabrahmanas do not ask for it. If the third, the Christians and Muhammadans have also seperate representation, and only the residue must go to the Sudras.

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If this denotation be accepted, how could Mr.Chakrai Chetti, an Indian Christian, be a member of the Presidency Association and one of the six chosen to represent the non-Brahmans? If the question had been amicably settled, there would have been no occasion for a strict definition of the term; but when one party grows hot over the matter, the other party cannot help asking who exactly they are. If the truth is ascertained, the non-Brahman community turns out to be a fiction, and if this should come to light, the arrangements made will be just.

For the week ending 13th March, 1920.

57. The Andrapatrika, of the 3rd March, says:-- It is our opinion that there is no separate community going by the name of the non-Brahman community. We have already expressed the doubt whether the world non-Brahmans means the non-Brahman Hindus or whether it includes also the Christians and the Muhammadans, and whether the Panchamas have a place in it. The fact that Mr. Chakkarai Chetti, who is a Christian, gave evidence before Lord Meston as a non-Brahman representative gives room for the supposition that non-Brahmans include Christians also. Mr.Lodd Govindados is opposed to such inclusion. It will thus be seen that the definition of the word non-Brahman varies every movement. When the number of seats for Brahmans is to be reduced, all those who are not Brahmans become non-Brahmans. When the high class non-Brahmans require more seats, the Christians, the Muhammadans, and the Panchamas secede from the non-Brahmans. Nothing can be stranger than this. For our part, we do not care how many more seats the non-Brahmans may get. We will not be pained even if the Brahmans do not enter the Legislative Councils for some time.

Non Brahman representation.

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For the week ending 20th March, 1920.

Non-Brahmans and the future Legislative Council of Madras.

2. In a leader under the heading "Lord Meston's Award", the Hindu, of the 18th March, writes as follows:--'The decision of Lord Meston to reserve 28 seats for non-Brahmans is a matter of much surprise to us.' In view of the acute controversy which has raged round the question for some time past it is bound to cause profound disappointment and grave disquiet among the non-Brahman community. Lord Meston has given grounds in support of his decision, and there is no doubt that it can be justified on theoretical considerations. It must be remembered however that the arbitrator has not descended from the clouds, and that he was not to give his decision independently of all the conditions and circumstances which have rendered his decision necessary. If, according to the Government of India, when Lord Meston was a member of it, 30 seats out of 61 should be reserved for non-Brahmans, 33 or 32 seats are due to them out of 65. It is a perplexing problem how Lord Meston came to throw to the winds the principles upon which the Government of India acted in the above Despatch and fixed the figure at 28. His decision is bound to embitter the non-Brahman community, although some members of that community may have advanced exaggerated claims. (When the leaders of the two communities failed to reach an amicable settlement, we thought they had not sufficient grasp of the issues at stake, the most important of which was the necessity of harmony in their mutual relations and national outlook.) The action of the representatives of the Government does not shine by contrast. The Joint Committee committed a blunder in not themselves fixing the number of the reserves seats. With more tact than he showed Lord Willingdon could have eased the situation. Lord Meston has however done the most incomprehensible thing of all in fixing his award at 28, although as a member of the Government of India, his opinion was

33 or 32, and 50 per cent had been expressly offered by Lord Willingdon at the conference of the leaders."

Justice, of the 18th March, remarks:-- "We publish to-day the full text of Lord Meston's report on the reservation of seats for the non-Brahmans of this Presidency. He has taken the strange view that out of a total number of 65 seats, only 28 need be reserved for the non-Brahmans. It will be remembered that some of the Brahmans themselves were prepared to set apart over 50 per cent of the seats for the non-Brahmans, and that Lord Williongdon thought 50 per cent to be reasonable. Lord Meston, for reasons which are not obvious, has fixed a lower number for which, he perhaps thinks, non-Brahmans should be profoundly thankful. What we dreaded has thus come to pass. Let there be no mistake that it is not for this result that for over three years the non-Brahmans, in spite of formidable obstacles, laboured hard and that Doctor Nair laid down his life. Yes, they lost in Madras what they imagined they obtained in London. It is a tragedy indeed. (For what could they do with 28 seats in mixed electorates of Brahmans and non-Brahmans? It can never afford them protection, while, however, the stigma of special protection sticks to them. Is this the sort of protection for which they laboured? This is the point that the non-Brahmans have now to decide.) Yet Lord Meston thinks that as the voting strength of the two communitites is as 8 to 1, there is no need for adequate protection of the non-Brahman community under the new reforms. Has he studied the Madras Civil List? Did he inquire how, in spite of the Brahmans being a microscopic fraction, they have for decades together held the first place in the councils of the Government? Could he tell us why brilliant and versatile non-Brahmans could make no headway against the Brahman phalanx? What is the earthly use of talking about numbers when one knows that numbers count for little in an unorganised State?

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36. Referring to the conference of Lord Meston with the Brahman and non-Brahman representatives on the 1st March the Dravidan, of the 10th idem, echoes the view of the justice of the 3rd idem that the Brahmans are sticking to their position, as they are sure of the support of Mr.Montagu and Lord Willingdon and admitting that the calm and impartial beheaviour of Lord Meston at the conference would warrant the conviction that his decision will be a satisfactory one, feels pessimistic against the thought of Lord Willingdon's statement made some time back that the arbitrator may perhaps decide a smaller percentage than 50.

The non-Brahman representation on the Legislative Council.

For the week ending 27th March, 1920.

48. While commending Lord Meston's settlement, the Andhra-Patrika, of the 20th March, writes under this heading:-- It is essential that the people should elect only competent persons to the Legislative Councils and restrictions on election are opposed to the principle of self-government. Artificial distinctions have somehow sprung up in the Madras Presidency. The non-Brahman community only exists in the world of ideas, and it cannot but be strange that there should be disputes about imaginary things. 'The term non-Brahman is hard to define and Lord Meston has taken it to mean non-Brahman Hindus, in accordance with the suggestion of the Joint Committee. There would have been no room for further strife if 42 seats or 55 are granted to the non-Brahmans in accordance with their wishes but by such an arrangement competent members cannot be secured to the Legislative Council.'

Non-Brahman representation and Lord Meston's settlement.

For the week ending 24th April, 1920.

The Non-Brahmans and the local Legislative Council.

35. Reverting to Lord Meston's reservation of 28 seats for the non-Brahmans in the local Legislative Council, on the ground that, as they form the majority among the voters, they can return a larger number of their community to the Legislative Council than the Brahmans, the Dravidan, of the 14th April, remarks that most of the non-Brahmans are a tool in the hands of the Brahmans, the rich merchants or zamindars being led cleverly by the Brahmans surrounding them, and the ordinary men among them being influenced through the Brahman officials or through the blind belief that they will suffer in the nether world if they act against the words of a Brahman, appeals to the non-Brahmans not to be led away by the crafty devices of the Brahman and observes:- It is the Brahmans that keep us under subjection exercising all the powers of the Sovereign. They have appropriated to themselves all our wealth and glory through the Government, and gained a control over us. We have till now been indifferent depending on the righteous administration of the British- This will not do hereafter. A portion of the administration is now to be transferred to the people and it belongs to us of right, as we form the majority of the population. Under the Reforms Act the right of levying taxes is entrusted to us and if the Brahmans who pay only a very small amount in the shape of taxes are allowed to get into the Legislative Council in large numbers, they will appropriate this power to themselves and they will not hesitate to increase the burden of taxation upon the non-Brahmans.

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THE NON-BRAHMAN MOVEMENT.

WEEKLY REPORT ON ENGLISH & VERNACULAR NEWSPAPERS:

~~January~~ July TO DECEMBER, 1920.

For the week ending 3rd July, 1920.

The aim of the Brahmans.

37. In a leader dwelling at length upon the services rendered by the non-Brahmans to the Government and the obstacles thrown by the Brahmans in the way of the non-Brahmans improving their condition, the Dravidan, of the 23rd June, complains of some of the non-Brahmans also playing into the hands of the Brahmans and observes:- Many non-Brahmans are still handing over to the Brahman priests their properties and wives and all their privileges. Some non-Brahman classes are still treating the Brahman as the first son-in-law! Other classes also do so, in mind, if not in deed! Alas! What an injustice! It appears we cannot get into the temple built by us. It seems the Brahman widow, with a shaven head, is superior to us. She gets in as far as the inner sanctuary of the temple, while we have to weep on account of the shaven heads hiding the deity, however cultured and decotional we may be. Another matter to be noted is that, of the five lakhs of rupees sanctioned by the Government for providing house-sites and lands to the depressed classes, three lakhs are said to be intended for establishment charges. Thus the cost of carrying out the scheme is more than the value of the scheme itself. To add to this, it appears one lakh of the amount sanctioned for this purpose is to be utilised by the Government for giving effect to the recommendations of the Salaries Committee. This is robbing Peter and paying Paul. Cannot items of expenditure useless to the public be dropped? Why should the Widows' Home at Mylapore exist? All these things show that the Brahmans and the Englishmen are acting together and ignore the interests of the non-Brahmans. What will be the result o ~~affecting~~ afflicting the non-Brahmans who are co-operating with the Government and the Brahmans? What will be the condition of this Presidency, if the non-Brahman labourers act on the principle of non-co-opration We think that that time is fast approaching. Political experts

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do well to realise that prevention is better than cure.

For the week ending 24th July, 1920.

41. The Dravidan, of the 14th July, reiterates its complaint that the Brahmans had stood in the way of the non-Brahmans securing a representation in proportion to their numbers and that Lord Willingdon and Lord Meston also failed to grant their legitimate prayer, relying upon the wily words of the Brahmans and, expressing its regret at even the Joint Committee of the British Parliament having ~~xxxxx~~ accepted the "one-sided" award of Lord Meston, appeals to the non-Brahmans not to have faith any longer in the justice of the British Government but to rely upon their own efforts and to vote only for men of their community at the forthcoming elections.

The non Brahman representations

For the week ending 11th September, 1920.

43. In the course of a long leader, the Dravidan, of the 1st September, dilates upon the hardships suffered by non-Brahmans in Government service and, remarking that the proportion of the Brahmans to the non-Brahmans in all public offices shows that the administration is carried on not by the British but by the Brahmans, observes that ~~xxx~~ on account of this preponderance of Brahmans, no opportunity is afforded for all castes to be represented in public offices, non-Brahmans come to have no influence in these offices, greater facilities are therefore available for a Brahman to succeed in cases of dispute between him and a non-Brahman and partial orders are passed in judicial matters and wants the Government to inquire secretly about the ~~way in which~~

Non-Brahmans in Government Service.

disabilities the non-Brahmans are labouring under and about the way in which Brahmans are nullifying the effect of the orders passed by the Government from time to time. It adds that it is no wonder that a Brahman clerk is said to have concealed from his Collector one of such orders for a period of two years.

For the week ending 25th September, 1920.

Non-Brahmans ~~in~~ in Government offices.

17. A correspondent to the Dravidan, of the 15th September, complains that an order of the former collector of Trichinopoly, Mr.Reilly, that 50 per cent of the Government appointments in the district must be reserved for non-Brahmans, has been set at naught after his transfer and the posts of Personal Assistant and Sarishtadar came to be held by Brahmans and that these Brahman officials ruin the non-Brahmans in service by reporting against them unfavourably in demi-official letters to the Collector, suggests that, if the Government really want to help the non-Brahmans, ~~theyxshould~~ and enable them to have the same facilities in Public Service as the Brahmans, they should rule that both the Personal Assistant and the Sarishtadar in the Collectors office should not be of the same caste and similarly the Dy. Collector and his Head Clerk.

For the week ending the 16th October, 1920.

The non-Brahman problem.

54. The Venkatesapatrika, of the 2nd Octoner, observes with regard to the non-Brahman question:-- This problem is the new creation of the triad Messrs. Thyagaraja Chetti, Ramarayaningar, and Dr.Nair. The Government whose influence is everywhere present have given them a helping hand. The Brahmans assembled in large numbers in the congress sessions, criticised Government measures and demanded swaraj. The British Government promised to grant it. This would prejudicially affect the prestige and pay of

European officers such as Collectors. If a division could be effected among the people, the grant of swaraj might be put off. It is therefore good to creat a non-Brahman party. If non-Brahmans were taken into confidence and Brahmans discarded, the former might commend the government. So thought some of the Europeans, and accorded their patronage to the non-Brahmans. This is borne out by the fact that Mr.Thyagaraja Chetti, the originater of the non-Brahman movement, and the President of the Tirupati conference have justified the Punjab horrors which are condemned by the Hunter Committee, the Government of India, the British Government and the whole world. If they lived in the Punjab with their wives and children, would they do so? If their sumpathy to the insulted non-Brahman population in the Punjab were a hundreth part of their hate for the Brahman, would they do so? The Government is their God. Since there are still many Brahmans in the government, they do not openly proclaim their Brahman hatred.

Non-Brahman movement

55. Referring to the remarks made by Sir P.Thyagaraja Chetti in his Madura speech, the Godavaripatrika, of the 21st September (received on the 2nd October), remarks:- When did Mr. Chetti contract this split-creating habit? Is it before 1916 or after his having been made a 'Sir' by the Government? Had theree been no Brahmans in this country, the non-Brahmans such as the Sudras would have been long ago swept away like the Red Indians of America. Many are of opinion that this Brahman hatred is a cancer created by the authorities. Short-sighted persons, tempted by temporary gains, take to this movement and set about, knowingly or unwittingly, the ruin of themselves and their country. Mr.Chetti says that no vote should be given to the Brahmans until the non-Brahmans come up to their level. It would appear from this that, in his opinion, votes should

or for generations to come today to the end of time.

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p. 1200. X not be given to Brahmans during his life-time ^ Who are responsible for the split? Is it the Brahmans or the non-Brahmans, who, in 1916, sowed the seeds of dissension and sought to ruin the country, or is it non-Brahman leaders like Mr.Chetti, or European officers? Persons like Mr.Chetti trespass all bounds of propriety by reason of the Government and its officers assuming an indifferent attitude towards such spiteful utterances.

For the week ending 23rd October, 1920.

The Tanjore Non-Brahman Conference.

27. In commenting on the presidential address at this conference recently held in Negapatam, the Desabhaktan, of the 12th October, remarks:-- The speech is full of classhatred, though there are observations in it about the disabilities of the race as a whole. His chorus is merely that all the Government appointments are being monopolished by the Brahmans and that the non-Brahmans do not get the plums in the service. We will say at once that the fact of the Brahmans seeking Government service in large numbers is detrimental to themselves and the country. It is a matter of serious regret to us that those, who are capable of gaining a name for themselves and their country and improving the wealth of the latter by conducting scientific researches, inventing machinery and writing works, are serving a foreign Government and thereby increasing the thickness of our fetters for a consideration of hundreds or thousands of rupees. Our aim should now be not to find out what high posts and offices we should strive to fill under the foreign government but to change the foreign nature of that government and to make it a machinery seeking our real happiness. If we acquire Home Rule, the relation between India and England will not be one reflecting disgrace on the former as it is at

present, but one full of friendship, likely to increase out capacity and prestige. The President has forgotten this fundamental principle and misled the conference by concentrating his attention on Government appointments.

For the week ending 30th October, 1920.

4. Justice, of the 29th October, has the following:-- Mr. Fisher's reply in the House of Commans to Colonel Yate about the dissatisfaction among non-Brahmans at the recent appointments of Brahmans as permanent collectors in Madras over the heads of senior non-Brahmans, that he had no reason to doubt that the officers selected were chosen as most suitable in all circumstances and his reply to a question put by Sir.J.D.Rees, with regard to the anti-Brahman agitation in Madras, that there was no reason to suppose that the Madras Government would be influenced by any agitation to adopt a policy unfair to any class of the population of the Presidency, open a new chapter in our agitation. These questions and answers will be received by the non-Brahmans of this Presidency with no feelings of surprise, for we ourselves surmised that such indeed wouldbe the tenor of the reply. Our duty is now clear. We are at the parting of ways and it rests with us, non-Brahmans, whether we shall sink with the storm or rise to nobler heights and carry aloft the banner of excelsior. Already the king-makers are busy, planning and replanning and it is rumoured that they have settled that a northern Brahman is to be the next Executive Council membere and a southern Brahman is to be the Minister in charge of the most important of the transferred subjects. But we shall not be dismayed. A Willingdon may be content with letting his destinies shapped by a Montagu, but a Community must be the arbiter of its own fortunes and must control its own destinies. To our non-Brahmans and for none else. Each one of us should exert himself, irrespective o

~~personal~~ considera

Non-Brahmans and Government

* friends, we would obey the issues of stake are vital and let them one and all remember the words of exhortation of their leader to vote only for non-Brahmans

...l or private considerations, for the end in view, and ... have succeeded in capturing almost all, if not ...he seats, then will it be time for us to know whether ... Governors can afford to flout us with equanimity; then ... shall know whether even Governors can carry on a Government ...ith the help of their Brahman Ministers ignoring the very existence of non-Brahmans. Then it will be time for us to determine what shall be our attitude to the Reform Act and whether it should be worked successfully or whether it had better not be wrecked if class prerogative be its aim.]

For the week ending 6th November, 1920.

60. Referring to the frustration of the hopes of the Justice party, as evidenced from the nature of the answers given by Mr. Fisher to the questions put by Colonel Yates and Sir J.D. Rees in the Parliament with regard to the non-Brahman movement and the question of giving high posts in the government to the non-Brahmans, the Andhrapatrika, of the 28th October, observes:-- Hereafter, at least, it will be better for those who belong to the Justice party not to waste their time in quest of worthless appointments and official positions, and direct their efforts towards the speedy attainment of swaraj. The Muhammadans, till very lately, followed the same path as that of the Justice party. They wanted communal representation. They refused to join with the Hindus in political work. Eventually they understood their folly and are now working for the attainment of Swaraj. Next, the Sikhs took to old paths, demanded communal rights, failed in their attempts, and finally adopted the congress decision. The non-Brahmans of the Justice party also are losing their old hopes now. Hereafter, at least, it is but right for them to take a lesson out of this, give up hatre...

Non-Brahmans and high posts.

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join hands with the Congress party and thus win glory.

For the week ending 25th December, 1920.

"Is it the Justice party that won?

31. Adverting to the publication in the Justice of a letter said to have been written by His Excellency Lord Willingdon to Sir P.Tyagaraya Chettiar referring to the latter as the leader of the party that won the majority of seats at the recent elections, the Swadesamitram, of the 15th December, observes:-- It is true that non-Brahmans obtained the majority of seats. But how did Lord Willingdon come to know that all the non-Brahmans that have now been elected belong to the Justice party? The main work of this party has been to revile the Brahmans? Is this a qualification for wielding the administration? The choice of the Ministers should depend on political considerations: and it is strange that it should be based on caste rivalry. If the Justice party have a definite political creed and all the non-Brahman representatives accept that creed, then Sir P.Tyagaraya Chettiyar may be spoken of as the leader of the party that won in the elections. But the Justice party does not appear to have any political creed nor do other non-Brahmans follow that party.

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